

THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

JULY, 1939

MACBETH AND SATAN

AMONG the hundred notes made by Milton for possible subjects of a dramatic poem, thirty-eight are from English and Scottish history, and one of these is Macbeth. His 'long choosing' led to the rejection of this among a multitude of others; but it is none the less interesting that he should, even for a moment, have thought of it; and it is worth while to conjecture how, if—*mirabile dictu*—he had selected the theme, he would have dealt with it. The form of his drama would, of course, have been totally different from that of Shakespeare's. We should have known, even if he had not told us so in the preface of *Samson Agonistes*, that he ranked the Attic dramatists higher than the Elizabethan; and, at least in his later years, it is probable that he sympathized with the feeling which had resulted in the suppression of the stage-play. His *Macbeth* would have made no attempt to be actable; like the *Samson*, it would have been acted, even in our time, only as a *tour-de-force* or curiosity. It would have been a lyrical drama of the Sophoclean kind, with a chorus, perhaps of witches, like the Fury-chorus in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, who not only would have taken part in the shadowy 'action' of the play, but would have been used to point a moral. He could not, it is true, have avoided showing us, as Shakespeare shows us, the fall into ignominy of an heroic character; this the Aristotelian rules, no less than the subject itself, demanded; but his model would have been an Oedipus or an Agamemnon. It would have been a great austere work, marked with the same sort of controlled passion as we see in the 'play' he actually wrote; and our minds would have been purged of pity and terror by means of those very emotions.

He would, I think, like Shakespeare, have found room, as he does in his *History of Britain*, for the words of Siward on hearing of the death of his son, which he read in Henry of Huntingdon: 'Did he receive his death's wound before or behind? When it was answered, before, I am glad, saith he, and should not else have thought him, though my son, worthy of burial.' But he would have added a chorus, to the effect that 'true fortitude glories not in the feats of war, as they are such, but as they serve to end war soonest by a victorious peace';¹ and on the whole the play would have shown as little resemblance to Shakespeare's tragedy as the *Electra* of Sophocles bears to the *Electra* of Euripides. It would have borne the same name, but would hardly have dealt with the same person. It might, by some exertion of force, have been made to end 'in calm of mind, all passion spent'; and in any case the murk and gloom, which envelop our *Macbeth* as in Egyptian darkness, would have been absent. There would always have been the sense of a 'holy Light' prevailing over all, and turning evil to good.

Everybody knows how, in the *Eikonoklastes*, Milton seems to censure Charles for making a favourite of Shakespeare. Even if that appearance were reality, one would have to remember that Milton, in writing that book, was a barrister conducting a case to order, and had to speak to his brief. But, if the famous passage is carefully read, it will be seen that it contains no censure of Shakespeare himself, and none of Charles for liking him. It simply turns the King's favourite author against the King, and uses a text from the familiar plays to point a rebuke. There is not a word to show that Milton thought the plays, as he thought the *Arcadia*, 'no serious books, but vain and amatorious', however 'full of worth and wit'. There is no reason to believe that he ever altered his early opinion as expressed in the *Epitaph* and in *L'Allegro*. And, if he seriously entertained the idea of a play on a Shakespearean theme, it would have been undertaken

¹ *History of Britain*, Book VI: Bohn, V. 381.

in no cavilling spirit, but in generous if haughty rivalry. In any case, he must have read *Macbeth*,¹ as he read Jonson and Fletcher, and it must have produced a profound impression on his mind. I propose in this article to inquire very briefly whether there are any traces, in his works, of that impression, and, if there are, how deep it went.

First, let us notice that the subject of Milton's epic is, almost as clearly as in the epic of 'Caedmon', that of the rebellion of a vassal against his liege-lord. Satan is a kind of John Balliol sending defiance to his suzerain. His is a 'faith-breach', a violated oath: and the technical feudal words are used in reference to it. His adherents, like those of a Robert of Belesme, are 'amerced': and, exactly as Aumerle is degraded by Henry IV—

'And, madam, you must call him Rutland now'—

so Satan loses his former name, which is heard no more in heaven. The allegiance of his followers to 'their paramount' is like the devotion of Warwick's men to the Bear and the Ragged Staff: it is feudal, but it ignores the higher allegiance to the throne. The crime, in fact, is a medieval treason. And this is the crime of Macbeth: it is levying war, even to the extent of compassing murder, against the King. It is, of course, more horrible than ordinary treason, for it is stealthy, underhand, and devilish; but it belongs to the category: it comes within the law of Edward III. Satan's crime is open and confessed; but it belongs to the same class.

Consider next the peculiar human character exhibited in *Macbeth*. Shakespeare portrays for us a man of the highest worth who, so long as he retains his loyalty and 'allegiance clear', receives honour from all: a man capable of friendship, a born leader, a 'peerless kinsman', and noble in his instincts. He is almost Aristotle's 'magnanimous man', to whom honour

¹ Walter Raleigh pointed out that in the Divorce pamphlets he seems to echo a famous speech of Macbeth: 'Free divorce hath the virtue to soften and dispel rooted and knotty sorrows' (*Macbeth* V. III. 41).

comes as of right, and who justly deems himself worthy of it. But the magnanimity is perverted; it becomes ambition, the sin by which the angels fell, and which o'erleaps itself. Through this he falls into rebellion and treason, which for the moment apparently succeed. He reigns—but in hell: his castle, as the porter hints, is an infernal palace. But treason, and even the murder of his master, were not his worst crimes, and do not mean his utter degradation, any more than Satan's treason means his total moral ruin. There is still about him some touch of brightness; even repentance, of a sort, is still possible to him. He does not take the irrevocable step till he has done his second murder; but from that lowest deep he sinks rapidly into yet lower deeps, making evil his good, and turning good to evil. Each minute teems a new woe; but none of these crimes brings him the least satisfaction. He strives to know, by the worst means, the worst, but every taste of this knowledge is the chewing of dust and bitter ashes. Nothing, he learns, can minister to a mind diseased, or pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow; and finally, in utterest despair, he flings himself on death.

As we contemplate his ruin, we might apply to him the very words which Satan uses to describe himself; he is 'that spirit unfortunate who, in rash revolt, kept not his happy station'; who, despite his deliberate choice of evil, has not lost

'To love, at least contemplate and admire
What he sees excellent in good or fair'.

Nay, though he has found in his wife the most loyal and yet fatal of companions, he sees clearly

'That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load'.

Like another royal murderer, also celebrated by Shakespeare, he realizes that his crimes have been precisely of the kind that makes restoration impossible: having stepped so far in blood, he cannot but go farther. 'Is there no place', he seems to say, 'no place

'Left for repentance, none for pardon left?
None left but by submission, and that word
Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame'.

He has, in truth, by his first crime, so entangled himself that extrication is out of the question; having done the murder, he must remain possessed of all the large effects for which he did it, and there is no rescue save in his destruction.

But besides ambition, Macbeth has what, in the circumstances, is still more fatal to him; a vivid imagination which, even in his more healthy stage, was exaggerated and even diseased. Most murderers, we should fancy, do not realize their crime in all its horror till it is committed. Macbeth visualizes it beforehand just as clearly as afterwards. He sees with his bodily eyes what exists only in his mind; and can actually, in his mental mirror, perceive himself paling with fear. Such a one, we may almost say, is the last man who ought to commit a murder; for he will be always imagining suspicion in people who have none of it, and will be always looking over his shoulder for pursuers who are not there. These are the murderers who are invariably found out; their very precautions set the avengers on the trail. This imaginativeness compels him to picture the enormity of his own crime, and the innocence of his victim. Duncan, he sees and confesses, has borne his faculties so meek that his murder is the worst of murders; and he murders him in the moment of this clear recognition, and just after he has received from him the crowning honour. 'Ah, wherefore?' he might have cried like Satan,

'he deserved no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence, and with his good
Upbraided none, nor was his service hard'.

There is every reason to believe that the idea of murder passed, fleetingly and dubiously, across Macbeth's mind long before he put it into action. He had sinned in thought before he sinned in deed. But what was it that summoned the idea to the forefront of his mind, and transformed it into intent?

First, of course, the prophecy of the witches; but even this leaves him rather entranced than purposeful. Not until Duncan introduces his son as Prince of Cumberland and therefore the heir apparent, does Macbeth say, 'That is a step

'On which I must fall down, or else o'erleap,
For in my way it lies'.

From that moment, with all the resolve of which Macbeth's vacillating nature is capable, the murder is resolved.

Who can doubt that Milton had this passage in mind when, in the fifth book of *Paradise Lost*, he came to describe how the celestial King set before the assembled hosts his newly-begotten heir, and Satan's pride and jealousy were stirred to rebellion? The words are the inspired words of the Psalmist—for Milton, in giving the divine speeches, preferred to *quote* them—but the thoughts are Shakespeare's:

'This day have I begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your Head I Him appoint.'

When Duncan established his estate upon the Prince, the lords around him, as in duty bound, showed their approbation; but had Shakespeare been writing a narrative poem instead of a drama he would have added, almost in Milton's exact phrases,

'So spake the Omnipotent, and with his words
All seemed well pleased; all seemed, but were not all'.

A stage 'aside', however, does the same work. Macbeth, like Satan, joins in the homage, but he has already spoken in secret to his 'next subordinate': and his thoughts are fixed on rebellion. Who is this upstart, to pop in between the election and his hopes?

Note again, that, as Milton makes abundantly clear, Satan's rebellion was not, in itself, sheer and unmitigated evil. He is still an archangel, though ruined. What utterly damns him is not his ambition, but 'seeking evil to others', the

unpardonable malice with which he plans the destruction of mankind. From that moment his descent is speedy: his very form loses its brightness, and he is actually unrecognized by those who had known him in heaven as the chiefest among the chief. It is this second crime which Milton, by repeated touches, marks as infinitely worse than the first, as without excuse and beyond hope. It is Satan's own device:

'From whence,
But from the author of all ill, could spring
So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and earth with hell
To mingle and involve?'

and, as it is his own, it leads to his own fall. That some readers should have missed this, and actually fancied that Satan is the real hero of *Paradise Lost*, is one of those vagaries which are hard to understand, and hard to pardon. The hero of *Paradise Lost* is neither Satan nor Adam, but the Deity Himself, righteous, but merciful.

If, as I just now said, Macbeth realized to the full that innocence in his victim which deepened the blackness of his crime, Satan had the same feelings. Looking at the blest and sinless pair in Eden, he half repents:

'And should I at your harmless innocence
Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
Honour and empire with revenge enlarged
By conquering this new world, compels me now
To do what else, though damned, I should abhor.'

And when later, like Macbeth, he for a moment forgets his malice, and stands,

'Stupidly good, of enmity disarmed',

he has, like Macbeth, to spur himself to the deed, and, almost in the very words of Shakespeare, confirms himself 'not to let pass occasion when it smiles'. Opportunity, as Lady Macbeth tells her husband, has come almost unsought: it is his business to seize it.

It is not in Satan's character, as it is in Macbeth's, to be moved by fear. As has been well said, Macbeth's courage is

frightful, but it is the courage that triumphs over terrors. He sees, with all the clearness of his morbid imagination, the dangers, the supernatural signs, the monsters in his path, and he faces them all. He feels, also, in their utmost force, the still more dreadful hindrances of conscience; and he goes on undaunted. Crime is to him a ghostly horror; and he commits it, as a brave man enters a room he knows to be haunted. None of this, by the necessity of the case, can be said of Satan; he is himself supernatural. There is in him no conflict of this kind, no contradiction, such as Shakespeare loves to describe, between cowardice and intrepidity in the same heart; and if he hesitates, it is not from fear but from the remnants of nobility in him. His character is comparatively simple. None the less, in its essential features it is, I think, the character of Macbeth. It needs no external urging, as Macbeth's does, to screw him to the sticking-place; it needs not to say, 'If I should fail': but, regarded as a whole and from a distance, it is exactly the character which we can believe Milton would have given to his Thane if he had made him the hero of a drama. He would have withdrawn from Macbeth the subtleties and intricacies with which Shakespeare has endowed him, and would have presented him as the uncomplicated and transparent hero of a Greek tragedy. In a word he would have made a humanized, mortal, and less stupendous Satan. This was what we might expect of Milton's genius, which was direct and concrete, preferring straightforward lines and clear-cut contrasts.

For the main story and for the main character, of the 'great argument', then, there can be little doubt that Milton had Shakespeare in mind; and that some suggestions came to him from this source seems more than likely. There are, naturally, amid the likeness, great differences. Satan might dream of 'shaking the throne' of his Adversary, but even he could not think of murder, any more than he himself could find refuge in death. Only Moloch, of the whole band of devils, could contemplate, and he only vaguely, the possibility of

annihilation. The victory of Malcolm, again, is in *Macbeth* the end of the struggle; the whole scheme of *Paradise Lost* implies that the defeat of Satan on the plains of heaven is but the beginning of a contest which will last till the end of the world. But there are some smaller points which, I think, show at least a parallel to Shakespeare, and may conceal a slight obligation.

Among Satan's helpers there is no female angel. They are all emphatically masculine, though we are told that they can at will either sex assume, or both; as deities they may pose as Baalim or as Ashtaroth. But when we descend in the scale of being, we find a woman playing a very important part. It was not easy to give Satan a female temptress, and Sin is represented not as urging him on, but as serving his will. Turn, however, from the fall of Satan to the fall of man, and woman is seen to be, next to the infernal agent, the leading spirit. As, without his wife, Macbeth would never have done the deed, so, without Eve, Adam would never have disobeyed the divine command. He 'hearkens to the voice of his wife'. And note that, like Macbeth, he sins with his eyes open: he sees the consequences with absolute clearness, while Eve looks only to the glorious result promised by the serpent. She will give him the 'golden round' which 'metaphysical aid' would have him crowned withal. She has not, it is true, any of the demonic force of Lady Macbeth; such a character did not enter into Milton's conception of woman. She works by wile, by cajolery, by playing on her personal attraction—the feminine weapons which Milton knew well, and which he at once despised and feared.¹ To such reproaches and jeers as Lady Macbeth used, if he could have conceived them at all, he would, in his virile pride, have been utterly impervious:

¹ As a woman says in the *Danae* of Euripides,

εἰ γὰρ δόλοισιν ἦν τὸ νικητήριον,
ἡμεῖς ἂν ἀνδρῶν εἴχομεν τυραννίδα :

'For if the prize of victory fell to guile,
Women would rule o'er men with tyrant-sway.'

but he knew that even Solomon could be beguiled by fair idolatresses. None the less, *mutatis mutandis*, Eve is the Lady Macbeth of the universal tragedy. Like her, she is without doubt or fear; and like her she sins for her husband's sake. The 'dilated spirits, ampler heart', she says, 'I sought

'Chiefly for thee; without thee can despise:
For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss;
Tedious, unshared with thee, and odious soon'.

So, as everyone has observed, the ambition of Lady Macbeth is for her husband: the crown is sought for him, and only incidentally for herself.¹ It is this virtue in her that the murky influences of hell utilize and turn into a vice.

Satan generally fulfils his promises. He gives Faust his full twenty-four years, and shows him Helen. His dark instruments tell truths to win us to their purposes. The witches give Macbeth the crown they foretold for him. But it is at Satan's own price. As Tithonus received immortality without eternal youth, so Lady Macbeth sees that 'naught's had, all spent, when our desire is got without content'. The first gloating is speedily succeeded by disillusion; and the rest is weary, flat, and unprofitable. So, too, with our first parents. They receive the knowledge of good and evil; nor do they immediately receive the doom of death. But after one short night the glamour fades, and a hopeless realization follows. 'Their eyes are opened,' and dreary indeed is the sight they see. As on the night of Macbeth's crime, 'the blasted stars

¹ That woman is a more easy victim of Satan than man—in fact that Satan is afraid of Adam as a 'foe not formidable'—is emphasized by Milton. It was a part of his general belief; but I have sometimes wondered whether he may not have taken a hint here from Rabbinic commentaries. In the *Testament of Job*, which was not itself accessible to him, but which is inspired by ideas to be found in the Talmud, we read that when Satan instigated Job's wife to bid him curse God, the patriarch told him to contend not with a weak woman but with Job himself; whereon Satan weeps and says, 'I yield to thee, who art the great wrestler'. Note also that the Geneva Version remarks, 'Satan useth the same instrument against Job as he did against Adam'. Augustine roundly calls Job's wife Diaboli adjutrix. (See Lancaster's *Commentary on Job*, pp. xxxix and 17.)

looked wan, and planets, planet-strook, real eclipse then suffered'. They behold, like Macbeth and his fellows, the great doom's image: and in their own hearts is an equal darkness: a vain and unending contest ensues to fill the fruitless hours.

For Satan himself the same disenchantment is destined. In that profound tenth Book, which for penetration and philosophic thought is hardly to be surpassed in the whole realm of poetry, a sublime allegory shows how for him also what he has achieved is won without content. There has been a short time of triumph, but it is followed by the extreme of humiliation. After he has told the story of his victory, he stands a while expecting applause from his confederates; but from all alike he hears the hiss of scorn. He and the whole host are changed to grovelling serpents: a punishment repeated every year. Parched with thirst and hunger, they pluck delusive fruit, which turns to ashes in their mouths. This is their reward, 'to dash their pride and joy for man seduced'. It is the lesson taught not only in *Macbeth*, but in one of Shakespeare's most famous sonnets. Not lust only, but all sin is

'Mad in pursuit, and in possession so;
Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme;
A bliss in proof, and, proved, a very woe;
Before, a joy proposed, behind, a dream'.

Never has this lesson been more powerfully taught than in the poem which, though it speaks of the fall of man, dwells still more insistently on the fall of man's great Enemy.

E. E. KELLETT

SIN: GUILT AND GRACE

ALTHOUGH, as the derivation of the word indicates, theology is concerned with the revelation of God, yet as that revelation is by men to men for men, it must include a doctrine of man, as creature, subject and child of God; his origin, nature, duty and destiny in this relation to God fall under its scrutiny. In this doctrine more than in the doctrine of God, it comes into contact, and it may be conflict with science (biology, anthropology, psychology, sociology). Science can tell us nothing about God; it can neither affirm nor deny the content of revelation, for God is transcendent, supernatural and suprahistorical, although immanent in nature and history; but as to the mode of His immanence in nature and history, it may offer explanations of nature and history, that do affect the interpretation by theology of that immanence.

I

There is a scientific explanation as well as a theological interpretation of man.

(1) When the Bible was regarded as a text-book of science and history as well as of theology and ethics, inerrant in knowledge, and infallible in truth and wisdom, the conclusions of science regarding man were subjected to judgment by this standard, and were refused and rejected. I myself have vivid recollections of the denunciation of Darwinism from Christian pulpits. Theology has, however, learned wisdom, and is prepared to accept as truth what science in its own sphere has learned and can teach. The Darwinian theory has been undergoing modifications, but the doctrine of evolution as the mode of God's immanent activity in nature and history is now generally accepted by theologians. Literary and historical criticism has relieved theology of the obligation to defend the story of the Fall in Genesis iii as authentic history, as an adequate explanation

of the origin of sin in the human race, Exegesis of the Scriptures has also deprived Augustinianism or Calvinism of its secure foundations in the Bible as regards its doctrine of the Fall, natural corruption and total depravity.

(2) Nevertheless, there are some reactionary tendencies in theology, in which mankind is described as a 'fallen race', which, whether intentionally or not, lend countenance to this superseded explanation. No man who keeps his eyes open, his heart tender, and his conscience sensitive can doubt or deny the reality, the universality and the enormity of human sin: and any inclination to minimize the destructive effect of sin as a permanent and potent factor in human history betrays either ignorance or perversity. In this generation we have witnessed an apocalypse of sin that may appal; and if, in view of counteracting good, an unmitigated pessimism is forbidden, an indiscriminate optimism is excluded. In individual development as in racial evolution, man has gone astray, is falling short, has become bad. We shall not, however, bring home conviction of man's inherent sinfulness by using terms which are generally associated with a superseded way of thinking. It seems to me, however, that science can itself heal the wound. Biology teaches man's animal descent, anthropology discloses the crude and rude beginnings of his evolution, although we are not warranted in assuming that primitive man was as brutish as are some savages to-day, the 'new' psychology lays special stress on man's animal inheritance of instincts, appetites and impulses; here is all the raw material of human nature which accounts for the prevalence and persistence of sin. When, however, science assumes, as it often does, that sin is natural, and thus inevitable and excusable, it ignores what man's moral conscience and religious consciousness, as well as the doctrine of man in Christian theology, testifies. Man is not only animal in descent and inheritance; he has a distinctive human equipment, that enables him to rise above, and out of his animality into personality, rational, aesthetic, moral, social

and religious. He has not fallen from a primitive perfection, such as was often, in most extravagant terms, assigned to Adam; but he is in his evolution falling short in his actuality of his possibility; nay, even his distinctive human equipment, enslaved by his animal instincts, appetites and impulses makes him more brutish than the beasts, and perverts his nature to abnormality. In my judgement there need be no contradiction between the scientific explanations and the theological interpretations, when all the relevant data are adequately recognized on both sides.

(3) Another tendency, prevalent on the Continent, yet occasionally present in theology in Great Britain, is to ascribe this appalling apocalypse of evil to 'demonic' influences. It would be rash to deny the possibility of non-human agency, but why, we may ask, should that appear quiescent at one time, active at another? That agency, if such there be, can be an effective factor in human history, not apart from men, but only in and by them; and if it is more manifest at one time than another, it can only be because there is less human resistance, and more human acceptance even if, as some assume, the increase of goodness provokes the more violent reaction of evil, anti-Christ opposing Christ. I deprecate this explanation, because it tends to lessen human responsibility, to promote a helpless acquiescence in things as they are, and to prevent that close scrutiny of not only the circumstances which afford the occasions, but still more of the motives, purposes, and ideas of the human agents of all this iniquity. One of the most disquieting features of the whole situation is that sin is not 'naked, and unashamed', but man is using his mind to rationalize his passions; a false ideology is justifying a wrong policy. Conscience itself is being corrupted, and enslaved to prejudice and passion.

II

The evolutionary conception of man seems to me to be quite Christian; it does not minimize our condemnation of

sin as, not a fall from the primitive condition, but as a falling short at each stage in his history of his human possibility and his divine destiny. It allows us to be more charitable and hopeful—both Christian graces.

(1) As I study the New Testament I am always discovering how much more modern it is than most subsequent theology has been, because how much keener its insight into the permanent, and not ephemeral in man in his relation to the eternal God. One of the Hebrew words for sin means 'missing the mark', so also the Greek word most commonly used. Man's sin is his failure to become what he can be, and knows he ought to be. Paul makes this conception explicit in his declaration of the universality of sin: 'all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God' (Romans iii. 23). Without entering on an exegetical discussion, I may offer two sentences from my commentary on *Romans* (*The Century Bible*, p. 126) to indicate how I understand the meaning. 'Not only has man failed through sin, but he knows his loss.' 'He has lost the image, and forfeited the likeness of God, and has no prospect in the future of recovering this lost good.' He knows his loss; hence shame for self, blame for others, repentance or remorse. But he does not know the extent of his loss; his conscience even when most sensitive cannot measure to what he might be rising, from what he is falling.

(2) Sin is *transgression*, for it is conscious and voluntary, and in so far as it is *transgression* there is *personal blameworthiness*. But it is also imperfection and ignorance. A man not only fails to become what he can and knows that he ought to be, but he does not fully know the glory of God, and how far short he is falling of it. In estimating personal blameworthiness in our judgement of others, we must always take account of both this imperfection and this ignorance. What a man now is limits what he can now become; each stage of his personal development is conditioned by what went before. The new convert cannot at once become the full saint. Further, a man's conscience is limited by his character.

What to the saint appears sin may not so appear to the convert. We have our Lord's example to justify us in charitable and hopeful judgement, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do' (Luke xxiii. 34). When we scrutinize the motives of all who had any responsibility for His death, we are led to recognize that to them it did not, and could not appear to be the crime that it now is for the Christian conscience.

(3) How does God's judgement compare with man's? Is *guilt* before God measured by man's *personal blameworthiness*? On the one hand God's judgement must go far beyond man's, for He knows, as no man knows, how far he falls short of His glory. On the other hand God knows, as no man knows, how ignorant man is of his imperfection. The infallible judgement of God takes account, in assigning man's guilt, of his fallible judgement of himself. 'God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things' (1 John iii. 20). His righteous judgement is more kind. His condemnation is also compassion.

III

(1) The Christian measure of man's sin is *his need of God's grace*. The glory of God, of which he falls short is not the consummation of his personal development by his own effort apart from God; but it is God's own fulfilment in man of His own purpose for him. Grace brings not only forgiveness but also holiness; it annuls his sinful past, it assures his sinless future. Christ is not only the pattern of what man ought to be, and has failed to become; He is by His spirit the power by which he will be conformed to the pattern. 'Where sin abounded, grace did abound more exceedingly' (Romans v. 20). Over against the appalling apocalypse of evil of our own day, let us ever place the blessed revelation of the grace of God. It is our knowledge of that grace which makes that sin appear so hideous, and yet it is also that knowledge which gives us the confidence that all these forces of evil which form the anti-Christ of our age will yet be overcome in

the triumph of the grace of Christ over the sin of man. Sin is man estranged from God, active in hostility to God; grace is God active in hostility to sin in love for man; and love will find a way to overcome sin, so far as God is greater than man.

(2) God as Creator is responsible for making man with the fateful dower of freedom, because thus and only thus could he grow to reasonable, moral and religious personality, capable of personal relation to God in faith, hope, and love. With all reverence be it said, we cannot believe that God would have assumed that responsibility had He not had in Himself resources of grace to overcome and do away with sin, so that Redemption will justify His wisdom, goodness and love in Creation. It is grace alone through faith alone that saves, for God alone saves, but He does not save alone. He uses saved men in His saving, and they are the more saved as God so uses them in saving. Great is the mystery of the ways of God with man—the tragedy of sin and the glory of grace. ‘God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all.’ Such a theology can end only in a doxology. ‘O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God. . . . For of Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all things. To Him be the glory for ever. Amen’ (Romans xi. 32, 33, 36).

ALFRED E. GARVIE

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN JAPAN

EVERYONE who has followed at all closely the inter-action of politics and religion in Japan during recent years will be well aware that the path of the Christian has not been an easy one. It has been less easy in such Japanese dependencies as Korea, Formosa and Manchukuo. The chief source of the difficulty has been the claims of a semi-religious character which have been made on behalf of the State. The Christian in many parts of the Far East is to-day facing a situation similar in many respects to that which the Christians faced under the Roman Empire.

For some years it has been the custom in Japan to draw a sharp distinction between the political and the religious aspects of Shintoism. The Government claim that this distinction has been made for fully seventy years. They affirm that Shinto, as the State religion, has a political as well as a religious significance, and they make an official differentiation between State Shinto, on the one hand, and religious Shinto, on the other.

The former is a function of the State and comes under the Home Office; the latter is a purely religious matter with which the Government has no concern. State Shinto aims to keep up the national morale by inculcating reverence and gratitude to the ancestors, by exalting the good of the State to a supreme position, and the Emperor both as the representative of the country and as the divine descendant of the Sun Goddess. In order that the national spirit may be upheld, school-children are required to attend Shinto shrines at intervals for a celebration or ceremony. The Government has again and again proclaimed that this ceremony is not religious; but probably for the average man it is pretty much the same as any other Shinto celebration, especially as there is bowing, and the repetition of certain sentences that are like prayers. But I am told that there is no clapping of the hands, which

is considered a definitely religious act. The Roman Catholic Church has taken the Government at its word, and instructs the teacher to tell the children every time they go to the Shrine celebration that the Government says that it is not a religious but a patriotic ceremony, and then to march them to the shrine. Some Protestant groups are following suit.

The Government does not put pressure upon foreigners to attend. They are not Japanese citizens and therefore have no part or lot in any act of gratitude to the ancestors or of loyalty to the Divine Emperor. But schools cannot evade the Shrine ceremonies. If a foreigner on the staff does not wish to attend he need not, provided a responsible member of the staff, probably a Japanese, takes his place. Many foreigners have taken advantage of this and have never attended a Shrine celebration, and apparently there is no discrimination against them. What such people are anxious about is lest their abstention shall bring the school into disrepute.

There is never a question in the mind of the Japanese in regard to the absoluteness and the rightness of the State's claim. They accept it as unquestioningly as they breathe. Even though they do not speak in so many words about the infallibility of the State, some such notion is at the back of their minds. All this deep century-long devotion and loyalty to the State is focused in the person of the Emperor. He is infallible. If there should be an error in imperial policy, it is because the Ministers of State have tendered the wrong advice, not because the Emperor has made a mistake in judgement. There is a definite and a growing Emperor cult, which is being fostered in some quarters for political reasons.

But quite apart from this political emphasis on the Emperor cult, there is in the mind of the average man a quite unique place given to the person of the Emperor. He is different from ordinary mortals. You see this in a dozen ways. Half-a-score soldiers are drafted to the front. Their first act is to march to the grounds of the Imperial Palace, go as near to it as is permitted, then raise their hands and shout. They

have made their salute to the Emperor and are now off to fight, and if need be die, for him. Or in any school when the Imperial Rescript—a brief document defining the function of education in relation to the State—is read, everyone turns towards the Imperial Palace and bows, much as a Moslem does towards Mecca. The cult has gone further of late. Schools, some of them Christian, have been offered a portrait of the Emperor—an offer that cannot be refused. The portrait has to be housed in a special fire-proof and burglar-proof place, and treated with infinite care and respect. On special occasions it is opened to view, and a brief ceremony, including bowing to the portrait and reading the Imperial Rescript, takes place. It is rather like the bowing to the portrait of Sun Yat Sen and the reading of his will that took place in all Chinese schools a year or so ago. There is one difference, however. There is no parallel in China to the naturally reverential and almost mystical attitude of the Japanese towards the State and the Emperor, which, with the claim of his descent from the Sun Goddess, can easily pass over into a semi-religious cult. In some schools a special structure has had to be built in the school grounds, to house the portrait, which in time may become a shrine. In one of the most famous Christian colleges in Japan I saw workmen putting up a little building in the centre of the campus and near to the College chapel. I found that it was to house the Imperial Portrait—I use capital letters as I am sure the Japanese would do so—and around it the whole institution will gather for the unveiling of the Portrait from time to time. In a non-Christian institution it may quickly take on the attributes and atmosphere of a shrine, and a semi- or wholly-religious cult grow up around it.

The alternative was that the Portrait should be unveiled and the Rescript read in the largest and most honourable building of the College, that is the chapel. And on such occasions the Portrait would, I am told, have to be exalted above the pulpit, and the Rescript placed on a higher level

than the Bible. This was clearly heading for a clash, and the erection of a tiny 'Portrait House' or 'Receptacle' in the grounds and the holding of the ceremony in the open-air was adopted as a satisfactory way out. The Japanese like solutions of this kind rather than head-on collisions.

More than one member of the Government assured me that there was no intention to interfere with any of the religions of the country. Their concern is the maintenance of the national life and spirit. Religion, as such, is irrelevant and outside that sphere. I tried to find out what the word 'outside' meant, particularly if it implied 'subordinate to'. I was assured that the Japanese word could be translated either way. But I have a feeling that the tacit official attitude is that religion in any case is a matter of less consequence than patriotism and the life of the State; and if there should be a clash there is no doubt in their minds which would have to give way. The officials genuinely want to avoid a collision, and they cannot understand the scruples of some of the missionaries. 'What more can you want?' they say. 'We assure you that the Shrine ceremony is purely national and patriotic and not in any degree religious. Why, therefore, do you still hesitate?'

I went to Japan very disturbed and uneasy about the Shrine question and the whole religious situation. I confess that the uneasiness was not entirely removed when I left. I think I understand the Japanese attitude now, and I realize that it is not intentionally anti-religious or anti-Christian. It is wholly and fanatically pro-nationalist. The Japanese are a resolute and on occasions a ruthless people. They will certainly let nothing stand in the way of their national policy. They believe religion is a valuable element in the national life, and they have no desire to interfere with it; but they will brook no interference from it.

I was assured again and again that they are not a persecuting people, and they certainly do not want to be in the position of having to persecute religion. They are quite clear

that the interests of the State must always come first, and it is their hope that religion can be fitted into its place in the national life, so that it is an asset, not a weakness. They don't want too many sects and fancy religions. They like the Roman Catholic Church because it is regimented and can be dealt with as a unit. They would like the Protestant churches to be similarly organized. In fact a Bill is under consideration to recognize the various forms of religion such as Buddhism and Christianity, and the various divisions or sects in each, and to put down in black and white the tenets or credal position in every case. Its object is on the one hand to give recognition, and on the other to prevent the advocacy of undesirable views and the activity of strange and unauthorized sects. Many such are said to be emerging in Japan just now. The Japanese way of dealing with political and religious cranks is not to let them blow off their steam harmlessly, but to prohibit their activity altogether.

The reason is that the Japanese are not a democratic people. They are essentially feudal in their outlook. For instance, they are not affected by public opinion within their own country, though they are very sensitive to foreign opinion. They don't write to the Press about an abuse or stir up public indignation. They go and talk with someone in authority and leave the matter with him. This, I gather, is what happened in regard to the Nanking atrocities. It was represented to the authorities in Tokyo that the soldiers were out of hand and that terrible things had happened. A prince was immediately sent to enquire. As a result of his report the commanding officer was recalled. There was no public enquiry, no newspaper revelation. The Japanese resent public demonstrations and protests. They have been reared in the Samurai and Bushido traditions which inculcate absolute obedience. The build of their life is aristocratic, and does not lend itself to the method of public agitation and popular pressure.

What will be the upshot of it all? It is fairly certain that

this exaggerated nationalism will not last for ever. Nothing does in Japan. They are a highly excitable people. They can, as a whole nation, be swept by emotion. Then they react. As a leading Japanese said to me, 'At one time we have our Voltaire and we follow him, at another time we go after our Napoleon. The pendulum will swing back, and the strong liberal forces will be in the ascendant once more'.

I was frankly surprised to find so few evidences that a great war was on. Taxation has increased; the cost of living has gone up; imported goods are hard to get; civil servants walk to the office; petrol is severely rationed; the hotels are half-empty and the more expensive types of holiday are taboo. At every railway-station there are parties with banners and other patriotic emblems, seeing soldiers off, and down the streets march beflagged groups with a band behind a man who has been called up. It is a very rare thing to see a wounded man; they are kept out of sight. It is the triumphant side of the war that is placarded everywhere.

A. M. CHIRGWIN

A THEOLOGICAL HIATUS

FOR many years past, in reading a multitude of books dealing with religion and theology, I have frequently felt that there was something missing. At times it has been merely a vague sense of an absent element in the induction, as if one were pursuing a mathematical demonstration which was inconclusive because of some unrecognized or unresolved factor in the problem. At other times it has presented itself as a defect of the more passionate and poignant sense of religious reality. At other times, again, the lack has seemed to be due to the mere superficiality that shrinks from the inevitable paradoxes of religion, or to the mere sentimentality that refuses to face the dissident facts of life. But always it has been a sense of a hiatus—there has been something absent, and the absence of it has reduced the emphasis, ruined the proportion, or lessened the sense of reality, in the presentation of the great truths of religion. Very often I have been able to agree with everything that was said, but I have felt that there was something which has not been said, and which, in many cases, has apparently not been realized as a part of the religious issue at all.

Many studies of the redeeming death of our Lord, for example, leave the impression that it has been difficult for the writers to discover any principle of real urgency in the Atonement. If you merely regard the human aspect of our Lord's Death it was a tragic martyrdom; it stands in line with every other martyr's death, and may be said to illustrate the sacrificial strain which runs through human history (though even then the element of sacrifice needs to be explained as an inevitable element of experience). But if you seek for some deeper and more elemental significance in the Cross, many theologians are only able to say that it is a final revelation of the love of God. That is, no doubt, a supreme fact, and a supreme truth, but is it all the truth?

Did the uttermost revelation of the love of God *necessarily* take the form of an unspeakable tragedy, and why? It seems unsatisfying to think that the Cross was merely an exhibition, even though it was an exhibition of Eternal Love. In the range of human experience, at least (and that is all we have to go by, after all) we should think that there was something unreal, pretentious, and theatrical in a tragic display of love, unless there was some tragic necessity that made the agony inevitable. Where is that element in the Cross?—the superhuman and supernatural necessity that drove our Lord to the Cross, and wrung out of His pure soul the anguished cry of dereliction at the last?

The same sense of a question unasked and unanswered forces itself upon you when you read many books that treat of the doctrine of sin. There has been a real advance, in some ways, in this particular field of theological thought, for our whole conception of sin is, or ought to be, much more adequately grounded in fact than of old, because we know so much more both of the psychology of the individual and of the history of the race. But this advance has left the particular issue to which I refer absolutely untouched. For it simply does not matter, in this respect, whether you belong to the seventeenth century and take the legend of the Garden of Eden for literal history, or whether you belong to the twentieth century and think in terms of a long evolution of man from the lower animals. In each case the ulterior question remains. Why has the history of mankind involved, and inevitably involved, as it would appear, the fact of sin? Why is it necessary that man should have, in the very process of becoming what man is, and yet more in that of becoming what man ought to be, the sense (to put it at its least) of failure, of disunity, and of some elemental despair?

The same sense of some fundamental insufficiency makes itself felt in many attempts to deal with a doctrine of providence, when the issue has to be faced as to how the more tragic and irrational elements in the world, especially as

they intrude into the experience of men, are to be reconciled with what we believe about the supreme goodness and the supreme power of the Almighty. What is it, in the last resort, that so strangely distorts or at least masks the love of God, and so terribly thwarts what we must believe to be His gracious purposes?

Here is a little child who runs into the road after its ball and is mangled and killed by a motor car. Consider what are the possible attitudes to such a tragedy from the religious point of view. The mere pietist would say that it is the will of God; that we must not judge the Most High; and that in His eternal purposes what looks like evil is really good. The ordinary man who has rather less piety, and who esteems himself to have rather more common sense, while he really has no more intelligence than the pietist, would probably say that the tragedy was due to the working of natural laws, and that we cannot expect God to be continually interfering with the machinery of the universe.

Now consider what these positions really involve. There is a great truth in the pietist's contention, of course. If we believe in God at all we must believe that His ways are inscrutable, and that out of all the evil of the world a final purpose of good will be wrought. But while that must be true, it is really no satisfying answer to the problem of the immediate tragedy. The conclusion is too remote and too impersonal. It is like attempting to comfort a man who is dying of some agonizing disease by assuring him that a thousand years hence medical science will have abolished it. What of the relation of God to the immediate fact? I refuse to believe that the dreadful death of that little child, and the agony of its father and mother, is the act of God, or that it is according to the will of God, in any direct sense. And I think that every man who is really religious and really honest would agree—except in so far as we are concerned to safeguard what seems to be a vital belief in the omnipotence of God.

But suppose you say that the cruel and irrational facts of life are due to the relentless working of the mechanism of Nature, which is non-moral and non-intelligent. That, if you really mean it in all its implications, is the end of religion; it means the denial of God, or at least of any real activity of God either in the creation or the direction of the universe. If Nature is a soulless mechanism, it is impossible to think of a God of eternal love, either as the Creator of it at the beginning or as in the continual control of it all throughout. There has been of late years an attempt to save the situation by holding a semi-Deistic doctrine, and no less a man than Dr. Tennant has taken this position. He says that Christian theism 'must be sufficiently tinged with Deism to recognize a relatively settled order, and an order in which the causation is not immediate Divine creation'.¹ That is to say, while God is the Creator, the creation is a sort of regular mechanism which God largely leaves to itself to run its appointed course. I cannot think that such a view will ever commend itself generally to the minds of men who wish to hold on, because of their own experience, as well as because of what they believe is involved in their faith in God, to a belief in the reality of prayer and of providence.

Let us try to make a large induction, in a detached way, as to the general interpretation of existence. Upon any sane view the universe is a good universe, on the whole, but there is undeniably a bad streak in it. There is much more happiness than misery in the world, but there is misery; much more health than disease, but there is disease; much more goodness than sin, but there is sin. It looks like a benevolent and beneficent world, that has somehow got a malignant strain in it. It looks like a world made by a good God, in which there is some primitive and puzzling defect. Both sides of this appear to be true. We feel that any thorough-going pessimism is an unbalanced and unjustified view, since it exaggerates the cruel and irrational element.

¹ *Miracle and its Philosophical Presuppositions*, p. 51.

We also feel that any easy optimism is equally an unbalanced and unwarranted view, since it ignores the factor of cruelty and irrationality. A sane philosophy, and still more a sane theology, must do justice to both series of facts—the preponderance of goodness and happiness which seems to be in accord with the main design of the universe, and also the presence of pain and misery which seems to be a sinister thwarting of the general design, and is, in any case, a very terrible reality in universal existence. There is no denying that, as a matter of fact, on any frank interpretation of the universe. Whether we are theists or atheists, whether we have any theory of the universe or whether we have none, that would seem to be a fair reading of the facts.

When you pass from the general interpretation of the universe to the more specific region of religious thought and religious experience, there has to be a parallel recognition, if we are honest. The whole reality, the whole poignancy of the soul's life is involved in it. If sin is a mere superstition, or at any rate a very unimportant thing, as modern novelists would have us believe, then naturally there is no need for redemption, or indeed for religion. But if sin is a dreadful thing—and the awakened soul knows that it is—and if God had to do a dreadful deed to save men from their sins, then behind all this there must be some terrible and tremendous fact. As De Maistre said, 'The Duchy of Lucca does not invade the Kingdom of France, nor Genoa declare war on England'. What is this strange and appalling thing that has declared war upon God?

In the New Testament, and in the thought of the early Church, there was an element that has almost disappeared from modern thought, and it fitted into the gap which we have been considering. Whether it was a satisfactory conception or not, it supplied the missing factor here in what may be called a religious view of the world, and in a constructive scheme of theological thought. It may be said that it is impossible for us to hold it to-day, at least in the original

form, but nothing has taken its place. It is the conception of evil as a real, active, and personal fact in the universe.

It is rather surprising to find how large a place this holds in the New Testament, when we come to look into it carefully. In the life of our Lord Himself there is the central experience of the Temptation, as well as the belief in possession by demons, found on almost every page of the Gospels; and many references like those to the strong man armed, and the enemy who sowed the tares, and the evil one who snatches away what is sown in the heart; and many sayings like 'How can Satan cast out Satan?' and 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven'. In the writings of St. Paul, again, there are many passages like those which refer to the power of darkness; the prince of the power of the air; the principalities and the powers, the world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places; the mystery of lawlessness.

All this considerable element in the teaching of our Lord, and in the New Testament, and in the earlier faith of the Church, may be dismissed, and it frequently is dismissed, as a mere survival of crude, magical, mythological ways of thinking. I am not arguing at the moment as to whether that is warrantable or not. I am merely pointing out that if all that is dismissed, and nothing else is put in its place, there is a gap in our religious thought. A range of belief that did offer some kind of a rationale of what is really the irrational element in the universe has been discarded, and nothing else has been substituted for it. If this were deliberate, so to speak, and the Christian mind had definitely resigned itself to a frank and complete agnosticism on this issue, the position might be quite defensible. But that is scarcely what has happened. The problem has hardly been faced. We have given up one kind of explanation, without devising another, and without frankly admitting to ourselves the very ominous nature of the issue, whether any explanation of it can be found or not. But the fact remains, and it is the

most appalling fact in the universe. There is a large element of cruelty and irrationality in existence, and we cannot, we dare not, attribute it to the active will of God. That is not merely a mental dodge to save our belief in the omnipotence and the goodness of God, because there is actual warrant for such an attitude of mind in our own experience. I know, if I know anything at all, that I can sin against God—that is to say, that I can do the thing that denies, defies, foils, and cancels the will of God, and the Almighty lets this happen. There is no escape, if we retain a belief in God at all, from the position that the Almighty allows what He does not will, in the proper sense of the word. A created will, in other words, does thwart the will of God.

So much every theist, I suppose, would admit, in some sense at any rate. Then some would go on to treat this as if it were a sufficient explanation of the whole problem. What is wrong with the world is due to the sin of man, and there is no need to go behind that or beyond it. But can it be said that this really faces the whole enigma? As Reinhold Niebuhr has said, in Hebrew religion, 'the existence of evil was, on the one hand, a mystery, and was, on the other hand (perhaps too unqualifiedly) attributed to human perversity. The myth of the Fall makes the latter explanation too unqualifiedly in the sense that it derives all the inadequacies of nature from man's disobedience, a rather too sweeping acceptance of human responsibility for nature's ruthlessness and for the brevity and mortality of natural life'.¹ That is well said, and it was high time for it to be said. There is certainly a perverse and irrational strain in existence apart from man, and prior to man. It was not a perfect universe before man appeared. There was pain and strife and death from the earliest age of the world, long before man, in the geological ages of the 'dragons of the prime, That tare each other in their slime'. It would indeed simplify the problem if you could attribute the whole evil of the universe to man,

¹ *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics*, p. 38.

but quite obviously you cannot do that. Since evil in any ultimate sense must be of the will, it would seem that there must be, apart from man, a malignant and maleficent will at work in the universe, such as is assumed in the New Testament.

As Karl Barth has written, wisely and bravely, in *Credo* (p. 36), 'Dogmatics must here, as in other places, be logically inconsequent in order to keep to the facts. In spite of the omnipotence of God, or rather indeed because of the omnipotence of God rightly understood, the concept of creation must not at this point be followed to the end of the line, but we must rather explain those possibilities—sin, evil, death, the Devil—as being such that we have to reckon most definitely with their actuality, while we are unable to describe their reality and character better than by forbearing to ask for the ground (*Begründung*) of their existence, either in the will of God the Creator, or with Marcion and the Manichaeans in the will of an evil anti-god (*eines bösen Gegengottes*). These possibilities are to be taken seriously as the *mysterium iniquitatis*'.

HENRY BETT

W. B. YEATS, 1865-1939

W B. YEATS, who died on January 28 of this year, was born at Sandymount, near Dublin, on June 13, 1865. His father was an Anglo-Irish portrait painter of distinction: his mother was a native of Sligo with a streak of Cornish blood in her veins. He belonged to a line of 'Protestant landowners, government officials and well-beneficed clergy'. It is curious that this man of landowner and non-Catholic stock should become such a true interpreter of Catholic Ireland. If we wish to understand him, we must remember that there was in him the blood of the English, the Cornish, and the Irish. He spent a good deal of his childhood in Sligo in the company of his grandfather, an old mariner, and of his uncle, who had a servant, who 'was gifted with second-sight, and saw in vision the fairies and the giant dead of Ireland'. Surely this Irish nurse deeply influenced this sensitive child. It was from this woman that he first heard stories of Ireland that later became the subject of his song.

When only a lad of eight the family moved to London, and Yeats went to the Godolphin School, Hammersmith. There he was unhappy—for he was 'not for that hour nor for that place'. There was an estranging gulf betwixt the English boys and this child of Ireland. When he was fifteen he returned to Ireland, and then began to study in a School of Art; for at this time it seemed that he would be an artist, as his father was. The son, however, decided that his vocation was that of a poet, not of a painter. He sought to deepen the mystical vein which was in him, in occult learning and in the study of literature of the East. But this was not to be the spring of his inspiration. He was driven homewards, to Ireland, to her legends, to her people. 'He could not', he said, 'endure an international art, picking up stories and symbols where it pleased.' He found

his true home in the glens, in woods and hills, in the cabins, and in the folk-lore of Eire. He realized—to quote his words—‘All races had their first unity from a mythology that marries them to rock and hill’. He entered into the life of his countrymen, and through fellowship with the peasantry, and a deep interest in their folk-tales, by sitting where they sat, he became one with their dreams and visions. He said: ‘Literature is the child of experience always, of knowledge never.’ Here he is one with Keats, who said: ‘Nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced. Even a proverb is no proverb to you till your life has illustrated it.’ The Celtic Revival in literature, has as a characteristic this return to the language, faith, and experience of the people. What J. M. Synge wrote is equally true of Yeats: ‘When I was writing “The Shadow of the Glen” some years ago, I got more aid than any learning could have given me from a chink in the floor of the old Wicklow house where I was staying, that let me hear what was being said by the servant girls in the kitchen.’ This to some degree—but with a marked difference—was the method of Wordsworth. He desired to return to the speech of the people, to pass away from the artificial and stilted language of the city, from the conventional speech of the literary coterie, and in the talk of common people to find the vocabulary for his song. His preface to the second edition of *The Lyrical Ballads* tells of his aim: ‘The principal object, then, proposed in these poems was to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them, throughout, as far as possible in a selection of language really used by men, and at the same time to throw over them a certain colouring of imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect.’ Wordsworth went to the yeomen of Lakeland for his speech. He believed that amongst them the emotions were deeper and more intense: ‘Humble and rustic life was generally chosen, because, in that condition, the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they attain their maturity . . .

because in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature.' We have quoted from Wordsworth at some length, because his method is, in part, closely akin to that of Yeats. Both knew the simple strength of the language of the people, their deep and rich emotions, and saw the setting and background of their lives amid the beautiful and permanent forms of nature. Wordsworth, however, sang of their homely joys and fears—of shepherds, pedlars, leech-gatherers; Yeats went farther back—farther back even than Christianity—to the folk-lore of the people, to their mythical pagan heroes, to the world of fairies, as he found them still treasured in the hearts of the country folk. As he walked the roads of Sligo, he often met a peasant who told him some old legend of Eire that kindled the poetic fires. Besides this, and just as important, Yeats caught the lilt of the language of the Irish peasantry—for their speech is tuneful: there is song in it. By their curious order of words, by their unconscious music, they bring into their everyday talk the rise and fall of lyrical speech.

Although there are points of contact between the method of Wordsworth and Yeats, there is a wide difference betwixt them. They are one in their emphasis on feeling, on the flight from the city to the country, in their love of the language of the people, in their knowledge both of the Beauty and Terror of nature; but Yeats blazes out a new trail—that of the Celtic Revival. He captures the music as well as the words of the people; he goes—far back—into the mythology of the Gael, and makes it the theme of his song. Besides all this, there is this essential difference, Wordsworth sings:

Come forth into the light of things,
Let Nature be your Teacher.

Whereas Yeats says, 'Come forth into the gloaming and let the shadows be your teacher; roam about in "The Celtic Twilight"; move amongst the half-lights and the shadows; learn, not from things, but rather from the hinterland behind

phenomena; find Beauty not in the glare of noon, but in the cool of the evening. Do not seek to pierce the veil of Mystery, but watch for its trembling; in the momentary lifting of the mist catch glimpses of Truth; in Visions and in Dreams seek Reality'. He leads us to a Mansion of Beauty; it is haunted, strange figures flit to and fro; the old warriors with their wounds and defeats dwell therein. Deirdre with her sorrows and the old kings of Eire are there; we hear music, and it sings of sorrow. Mystery, battle, and death, have there found a home: but there dwell also imperishable things; Love, Courage, Faith, and Dreams.

In Poetry's Home there are many mansions—and Yeats certainly has helped to build a Celtic Home of Beauty. It is a home of Freedom, for it is built in the right way, for as he says: 'There is no freedom in a house that has been made with hands.' The house of his song rose to the sound of music: it was fashioned by dreams and visions. His realm is not that of the market-place nor of the munition factory. His home is in the glens of Ireland, on the Isle of Innisfree, by Connaught fires, and his bark sails on 'Shadowy Waters': he knows not the market price of things, but has a sure sense of the eternal values—Truth, Beauty, Goodness—'I move', he says, 'among divine people, and things that have shaken off mortality, the tower of ivory, the queen of waters, the shining stag among enchanted woods, the white hare sitting on the hill-top, the fool of faery with his shining cup full of dreams'. This is not the language of Throgmorton Street, or of Wall Street, or of the things that are seen; but it speaks of something more enduring than time, for it tells of the wide spaces of eternity. He is detached, remote from present-day traffickings: for his heart finds no abiding home there. He dwells in the world of song and knows that the singer is the chief citizen of life. 'I am never', he says, 'certain when I hear of some war, or some religious excitement, or some new manufacture, or of anything else that fills the ear of the world that it has not happened because of something that a boy piped in Thessaly.'

Song is to him terrible as an army with banners. He knows the meaning of the words:

One man with a dream, at pleasure,
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
And three with a new song's measure
Can trample an empire down.

Many of life's seeming relevancies are to him absurdly irrelevant; he never seeks to gain even a foothold among them. But for him the soul—be it the soul of a people, or of poetry, or of man—survives. In a song of his, of which one critic says, 'It is austere verse, bare like sea-washed bone', he sings:

An aged man's but a paltry thing,
A tattered coat upon a stick, unless
Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
For every tatter in its mortal dress.

He is far removed from arrogance, for he realizes that all is given to the poet. He listens for the heavenly voice; he watches for the vision that is not of his own fashioning; he tarries for the divine fire which will kindle his music. Mystic, as he is—he knows that there is no final value in self-culture, but that life at its best tells of something given. 'Faith', he says, 'is the only gift man can give to God, and it must be offered in sincerity.' He says: 'Can one reach God by toil? He gives Himself to the pure in heart, He asks nothing but attention.' He dwelt in London, Paris, Oxford, Dublin, as well as in the country places of Ireland; he became a senator of the Irish Free State; he knew the Irish Republican leaders, and had sympathy with their aspirations; he was with Lady Gregory the founder of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, and the drama of Ireland owes much to his inspiration. He was a man of the world, but he was not imprisoned by his many tasks. He knew swift ways of escape—amongst all the noise of life he learned how to dwell in the silences; when treading the streets of cities he caught sight of celestial towers; when seeing things crumble and decay he thought of Beauty that will never fade. He tells us that his best-known lyric—'The

Isle of Innisfree'—was inspired by a chance happening in London. 'When walking through Fleet Street very homesick, I heard a little tinkle of water, and saw a fountain in a shop-window which balanced a little ball upon its jet, and began to remember lake water. From the sudden remembrance came my poem Innisfree.' This story illustrates his gift of escape. He knew that Innisfree was only a hand's breadth from Fleet Street.

I will arise and go now, for always night and day
 I hear lake water lapping with low sounds by the shore;
 While I stand on the roadway, or on the pavements gray,
 I hear it in the deep heart's core.

Of the poetry of Yeats you can rightly use his own words:

And never was piping so sad,
 And never was piping so gay.

What can be happier than his poem, 'The Fiddler of Dooney'? The fiddler plays a merry tune; the verse dances. You cannot keep still as you read it. You sway to the music of this gay fiddler and with him 'dance like a wave of the sea'.

For the good are always the merry,
 Save by an evil chance,
 And the merry love the fiddle
 And the merry love to dance.

But his gay strain is not the dominant one in his poetry. He sings more of the tears of things, of the lover who is frustrated, and whose days end in stark tragedy; of the battles of heroes who are slain and defeated. He makes us, however, realize that their fight goes on and that there is victory in noble defeat; that love frustrated will at long last find its fulfilment. In his tragic note he is true to the genius of the Irish people—for their gaiety, their merry wit, their irrepressible spirits, are but the face they show to the world—there is also a face wet with tears, and the tale of this race is certainly one of tragedy as well as of mirth and dance. Yeats

found his truest source of song in Tragedy. He says: 'We begin to live when we have conceived life as Tragedy.'

Yeats felt deeply the wrongs and distortions of life, and hungered to build things anew. He was a deep student of William Blake and had learned many things from that great visionary. There is a real kinship betwixt the song of Blake in 'Auguries of Innocence'—

A robin red-breast in a cage
Puts all heaven in a rage—

and the song of W. B. Yeats:

All things uncomely and broken, all things
worn out and old,
The cry of a child by the roadway, the creak
of a lumbering cart,
The heavy step of the ploughman, splashing
the wintry mould,
Are wronging your image that blossoms a
rose in the deeps of my heart.

It is in his faith in the primacy of the imagination that he is most truly a son of Blake. He believed in what Coleridge called the 'shaping spirit of imagination'. In it he found his visions and dreams. When someone pitied Blake because he was poor and dwelling in an attic, Blake indignantly replied, 'I am not poor—I am rich—for I have my dreams'. Yeats is one with his great master here. He knows that although he cannot spread out 'heavens' embroidered cloths, enwrought with golden and silver light, yet in his poverty, which speaks of true riches, he can offer his dreams:

But I, being poor, have only my dreams;
I have spread my dreams under your feet;
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.

His were the dreams of the pilgrim, for he sought a city out of sight, a city whose walls rose to the strains of song, a city nigh unto perilous seas in faery lands forlorn. For long

years I have found his most autobiographical line in the following words:

But one man loved the pilgrim soul in you.

We can never understand him, if we forget 'his pilgrim soul'.

He lived in the beyond and not in the near; in to-morrow and not in to-day. He said, and the saying reveals him, 'True love is a discipline in which each divines the secret self of the other and refuses to believe in the mere daily self'. Someone said of him: 'He schooled himself to live down desire's impatience and to shut himself away from the discords and irrelevancies of life in a cloister of reverie.' He has the other-worldliness, the dream-like meditation, and the vision of the pilgrim.

How should I your true love know
From another one?
By his cockle hat and staff,
And his sandal shoon.

He was not a palmer who sought the land of Palestine: he travelled towards other territory. He, nevertheless, shows all the signs of the pilgrim—cockle hat, staff, and sandal shoon. He journeyed towards fairy-land. Note with what precision he describes the door into fairy-land. It is all so real to him; and as we read, we realize that we are reading a traveller's description of something familiar to him: 'A little north of the town of Sligo, on the southern side of Ben Bulbin, some hundreds of feet above its plain, is a small white square in the limestone. No mortal has ever touched it with his hand, no sheep or goat has ever browsed grass beside it. There is no more inaccessible place upon the earth, and few more encircled by awe to the deep considering. It is the door of faery land.'

Sometimes in a dream a poem was given to him. Of his poem, 'The Cap and the Bells', he writes: 'I dreamed this story exactly as I have written it. The dream was more a

vision than a dream, for it was beautiful and coherent, and gave me the sense of illumination and exultation that one gets from visions.' He certainly knew something of the ecstasy of the pilgrim, and illumination of the mystic. These dream visions came to him at unexpected times. He tells us that they flashed upon him in times of distraction, 'at some time that seems of all times the least fitting, as though it was necessary for the exterior mind to be engaged elsewhere. It was when I was always just arriving from or just setting out to some political meeting, that the first dreams came'. It is curious that his dreams should come to him in periods of distraction. His theory is one that life seems to contradict, but we must remember that it is Yeats who is speaking, and at this time amidst all his political activities he was 'practising meditations'. Of the reality and beauty of his dream vision there can be no doubt. He tells us: 'I was crossing a little stream near Inchy Wood, and actually in the middle of a stride from bank to bank, when an emotion never experienced before swept down upon me. I said, "This is what the devout Christians feel, it is how he surrenders his will to the will of God". The next morning I awoke near dawn, to hear a voice saying, "The love of God is infinite for every human soul: because every human soul is unique, no other can satisfy the same need in God".'

There was a time when Yeats thought that the harvest of a poet's song was easily reaped. He says: 'It was many years before I understood that I had surrendered myself to the chief temptation of the artist, creation without toil.' He learned that for the true poet there must be both the luminous moment, and patient labour. He said that little good work was done by violent and explosive energy, but that the intensity of the vision must be woven into poetry by 'conscious deliberate craft'. He says: 'Violent energy, which is like a fire of straw, consumes in a few minutes the nervous vitality, and is useless in the arts. Our fire must burn slowly, one must constantly turn away to think, con-

stantly analyse what we have done, be content to have little life outside our work, to show, perhaps to other men, as little as the watch-mender shows—his magnifying glass caught in his screwed-up eye.' Someone in later years asked Yeats if his speed of writing poetry had quickened. He replied: 'Yes, my pace is now seven or eight lines a day. It used to be that a week.' He spent nine unbroken hours in writing the six lines of his poem, 'The Impetuous Heart'.

W. B. Yeats is the outstanding leader of the Celtic Revival and as a poet is truly individual: but there were others who worked with him in this movement that gave song and drama to Ireland. We will only mention two—for it is not possible to leave them out of the story. The influence of Lady Gregory upon Yeats, both in his poetry and in his dramatic work, is beyond computation. It was of Lady Gregory, that an old man said to Yeats: 'She has been like a serving-maid amongst us. She is plain and simple like the Mother of God, that was the greatest lady that ever lived.' Yeats said of Lady Gregory: 'When in later years her literary style became in my ears the best written by women, she had made the people a part of her soul; a phrase of Aristotle had become her motto, "To think like a wise man, but to express oneself like the common people".' She gave him money, which he reluctantly accepted. For she said: 'You must take this money. You should give up journalism. The only wrong act that matters is not doing one's best work.' Yeats adds: 'She had that test for everyone.' She opened her beautiful Irish home, at Coole, to him. A place which will ever live in poetry through the verse of Yeats. For twenty years, Yeats spent two or three months at Coole every year. He says: 'Because of those summers, because of that money, I was able throughout the greater part of my working life to write without thought of anything but the beauty and the utility of what I wrote. Until I was nearly fifty, my writing never brought me more than two hundred a year, and most often less, and I am not by nature economical.'

It was when Yeats was in his thirty-first year that he met J. M. Synge, in Paris. Someone said to Yeats: 'There is an Irishman living on the top floor of your hotel; I will introduce you.' Yeats met him, and says: 'I was very poor, but he was much poorer.' Synge, who had 'just enough to keep him from starving, and not always from half starvation, had wandered about Europe, travelling third-class, or upon foot, playing his fiddle to poor men on the road, or in their cottages'. Yeats says of him: 'He was the man that we needed because he was the only man I have ever known incapable of a political thought or a humanitarian purpose. He could walk the roadside all day with some poor man without any desire to do him good or for any reason except that he liked him. He was to do for Ireland, though more by his influence on the dramatists than by his direct influence, what Robert Burns did for Scotland.' Synge had learned Gaelic at College, and Yeats advised him 'to go to a wild island off the Galway Coast and study its life'. 'Here Synge found happiness, and an inspiration for his genius—escaping, as he said, "from the nullity of the rich, and the squalor of the poor".' He was frail of body, and died when he was only thirty-eight, but he has left behind him a name imperishable in Irish Literature, and one closely linked to that of Yeats.

There is in the poetry of Yeats a rhythm which is hauntingly musical. He says: 'Since I was a boy I have always longed to hear poems spoken to the harp, as I imagined Homer to have spoken his. Like every other poet I spoke verse in a kind of chant when I was making them, and sometimes when I was on a country road, I would speak them in a loud chanting voice.' He found few who could read his poems to his liking—for he desired that they should be chanted rather than read. There is in his poetry of necessity, metre and rhyme, but there is also most lovely rhythm. There is something illuminating in the remark of Yeats concerning a well-known scholar: 'He had not enough conviction to give a rhythm to his style.' For rhythm is born of passion: it comes only to those who

feel deeply. Rhythm is a property of the whole poem, rather than of a part. It is something which gives lilt and speed to verse. It is the wind upon the heath of poetry. It depends upon the stress, the length of clauses, and on something indefinable. His rhythmic flow owes much to the peasants of Ireland. He says: 'All around Lady Gregory lived a peasantry who told stories in a form of English which has much of its syntax from Gaelic, much of its vocabulary from Tudor English, but it was very slowly that we discovered in that speech our most powerful instrument, not indeed until she began to write.' His is the art which conceals art. He toils terribly: but his verse shows no signs of labour. How simple, and yet how beautifully chosen are the opening words of 'When You are Old':

When you are old and gray and full of sleep
And nodding by the fire, take down this book,
And slowly read, and dream of the soft look
Your eyes had once, and of their shadows deep.

Let us look at the words he uses to depict a tired old woman—old—gray—full of sleep—nodding by the fire—slowly read—your eyes had once—but to analyse it is to spoil it. The picture is etched by those carefully chosen words. He makes us *see* the young girl now grown old. It is by lovely words, by rhythm, by twilight, by shadowy and autumnal figures, and by vision, that he captivates those who love his work.

How delicate is his craftsmanship, and how easily he deals in imagery! We chose a few out of his beautiful metaphors. Here are two from his prose: 'To watch old time telling the rosary of the stars'; 'our thoughts and emotions are often but spray flung from hidden tides that follow a moon no man can see'. Here are a few from his poetry:

The silver apples of the moon,
The golden apples of the sun.

And God stands winding His lonely horn,
And time and the world are ever in flight.

How daring is the following simile:

When shall the stars be blown about the sky,
Like the sparks blown out of a smithy, and die?

How clear is the image in the few words:

Time drops in decay,
Like a candle burnt out.

We will mention only one more:

The years like great black oxen tread the world,
And God the herdsman goads them on behind,
And I am broken by their passing feet.

.

Yeats was a mystic whose home was in the inward and the spiritual. He says: 'I remember that when I first began to write I wanted to describe outward things as vividly as possible . . . and then quite suddenly I lost the desire of describing outward things, and found that I took little pleasure in a book unless it was spiritual and unemphatic.' He looks at life with wistful and fearless eyes. He illustrates the truth of his own saying—'There is nothing in the world that's worth a fear'. He sings of Beauty, that has terror in it—'a terrible beauty is born'—but a terror which does not frighten him. For Beauty is born of love's sacrifice:

O plain as plain can be
There's nothing but our own red blood
Can make a right Rose Tree.

His quest is for a love which is found only beyond the veil:

Now the secret's out;
For it is love that I am seeking for,
But of a beautiful, unheard-of kind
That is not in the world.

He sees with his clear eyes life's wrongs, but his faith does not waver; and he can say, as Countess Cathleen says in one of his plays: 'But always I have faith.'

I am desolate,
For a most sad resolve wakes in my heart :
But always I have faith.

In his play, *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, we have the following dialogue—in which the old woman (who is Ireland) is talking to an Irish peasant.

OLD WOMAN : That is not what I want. It is not silver
I want.

PETER : What is it you would be asking for?

OLD WOMAN : If anyone would give me help he must give
me himself, he must give me all.

Certainly Yeats gave all he had, and himself, to the quest of song and beauty. In 1923, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. The Nobel medal showed 'a young man listening to a muse, who stands young and beautiful'. Yeats said of this: 'I was good looking once like that young man, but my unpractised verse was full of infirmity,—my Muse old as it were; and now I am old and rheumatic, nothing to look at, but my Muse is young.' His muse was young when he was old,—for his devotion made her increasingly youthful. His citizenship is in a country far beyond the world of earthly traffickings, and panic, and rumours of war.

There midnight's all a-glimmer, and noon a purple glow,
And evening full of the linnet's wings.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH

We wish to thank Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., for their kindness in permitting our contributor to quote from the *Collected Poems* and *Collected Plays*, &c., of W. B. Yeats.

THE MESSAGE OF KARL JASPERS¹

THE discredit into which philosophy fell during the second half of last century and the suspicion with which it is still regarded in many quarters are due ultimately to two factors. In the first place, philosophy itself has undergone a metamorphosis in the course of time, and that distinctly for the worse; from an individual adventure it has become an academic discipline, and from the ascent of *Eros* to the Ultimate Beauty the laborious assimilation of past systems. In the second place, a powerful rival has emerged in science, with its boast of objectivity, its technique of research, and its body of ascertained results. The confusion of the modern world with its many voices is such that even a Plato or a Kant could scarcely hope to be accepted by it as guide; science, on the other hand, is self-possessed, authoritative, and authenticated by a thousand triumphs. If in such a situation philosophy is to survive, it must be as something more than a repetition of the past; an attempt must be made to return to its origins, to track its course back to the spring whence again living waters may flow.

That is the impulse behind Karl Jaspers' philosophizing—one must use this term, with its suggestion of action rather than 'philosophy', which implies only too often a closed system. For he does not offer us some brand-new solution of the problem of human life which we can take over ready-made from him; rather does he seek to evoke first in himself and then in us, the wonder, the dread, and the passion for truth by which alone our human situation can be met. To philosophize is to run a frightful risk in the hope of possessing what the heart of man desires above all, to hazard one's very

¹ Jaspers: *Allgemeine Psychopathologie*; *Psychologie der Weltanschauungen*; *Philosophie* (Drei Bände); *Vernunft und Existenz*; *Die geistige Situation der Zeit*. (English translation as *Man in the Machine Age*); *Existenzphilosophie*; *Nietzsche: Einführung in das Verständnis seines Philosophierens*; *Descartes und die Philosophie*.

self for ultimate reality. That being the case, it would be to misrepresent his thinking to expound it as a complex of ideas; one must endeavour rather to convey something of the challenge of it.

The impetus to this renewal of the age-long adventure of the seeker after truth comes from two of the most enigmatic figures of last century, Kierkegaard and Nietzsche. These men were neither prophets nor systematizers, though posterity has mistaken them for both. Their greatness lay in the fact that they shuddered at the hollowness, the vanity, and the insincerity of their time; solitary rebels against the lies which satisfied their fellows, they set out in quest of truth, but died before they found it. They thrust men out where they themselves had first gone, out into the open, with the storm in their faces and a horror of great darkness in their souls. The one found there faith, the other the will-to-power. But these things may or may not be of value for us who come after them; they taught no doctrine, as they made no followers; their task was to create around them that atmosphere of doubt and resolution in which men see that they must find what will give meaning to their life—or perish in the attempt.

There is one element in modern life, however, which neither of these men understood, but which is indispensable for us. We cannot, as they did, dismiss science as cold, narrow, and life-destroying. We know that while science cannot give us ultimate reality, yet ultimate reality can never be found by turning one's back upon science. Jaspers came to philosophy through the study and practice of medicine and his *Allgemeine Psychopathologie* has a place among the best text-books of psycho-therapy. In his *Psychologie der Weltanschauungen* he has provided us with a classification of philosophical systems and the attitudes which lie behind such systems. It is one of his merits that he is above the conflict between rationalism and irrationalism; if the heart has its reasons which the head knows not of, the head has an approach

to truth which the heart must not be allowed to challenge. If the first step in philosophizing is to perceive the limitations of science, the second is to learn humbly from it. The supreme achievement of science is not the information it has given us but the temper it has formed: limitless and relentless self-criticism, the passion to know things for what they are—only he who has incorporated these into his very self is ready to go on to philosophy.

The philosopher, of course, is just a person who grasps more clearly than his fellows what is involved in our common human situation. I live in an environment which is constantly changing, and I seek amid it that which will give stability and security to my endeavours. I seek that which *is* beyond that which *seems to be*. I feel the vehemence and the misery of my time, and I long for that which will give direction to my efforts, so that I may share the secret with my fellows. Mere knowledge can never solve my problem, for life refuses to stand still and be examined as impartially and as minutely as the scientific conscience requires; the momentary present is burdened with an undiscoverable past and it thrusts forward, foreboding or hopeful, into an indiscernible and indeterminate future. But the very limits which are set to my knowledge show that it is not all, that there is something beyond; as I leave the circle of light and begin to grope my way forward in the darkness, I touch on a reality I have not known hitherto. It is the Transcendent, the sea which washes the shores of our human isle, the unknown Godhead in which I live, and move, and have my being. It is the Absolute Reality, at once revealed and hidden in my temporal experience, and with it alone can I be finally content.

There are three paths along which I can travel towards this goal. I can approach it through knowledge of the world in which I live, through the attainment of my true selfhood, and through the effort to discern, in sign and symbol, the manifestation of the Transcendent. To each of these methods of philosophizing Jaspers devotes a volume in his *Philosophie*.

I

Let us take some illustrations of how reflection of the aims and results of science serves the philosopher's quest for that which is.

The goal of science in its many representatives is to construct a systematic totality of knowledge, to arrange the multiplicity of phenomena under a hierarchy of laws, with a single sovereign principle over all. But every attempt to achieve this breaks down at some point. Indeed, there is no such thing, strictly speaking, as science, but only a number of particular sciences, each working its own restricted field; as specialization advances, the possibility of welding into a whole the results of the several disciplines becomes more and more utopian. And there is a taint of relativity about every science; for it has to begin with certain presuppositions the examination of which it leaves to the philosopher, and it has constantly to qualify its assertions by pointing out that these are only reached by a process of abstraction. Nor is the world we live in all of one piece; it has gaps and ragged edges, and we pass from one sphere to another—from the inorganic to the organic, from life to soul, and from soul to spirit—with the sense that we have arrived at something which is new and cannot be explained in terms of the old.

Science, however, is not purely theoretical in its interest; it is a means to action. We look to it for the technique which will enable us to remould this sorry scheme of things nearer to the heart's desire. But here again we strike upon impassable limits. Men will still die under a Five Year Plan; we may go on for years producing both guns and butter, but sooner or later we shall have to choose between them. That human nature can be profoundly modified is undeniable, but it is not wholly plastic; the educator can only proceed by adapting himself to his pupil, by acknowledging in him, that is to say, some reality which is intractable to his will. Every physician

knows that the text-book rules will only carry him so far; the point comes at which he depends on a certain tact or instinct, at which his *rapprochement* with the patient is of supreme importance. The political goal cannot be achieved without constant recourse to non-political methods; the state of religion and education in a country is of far more moment than its political groupings or the votes cast by its citizens at elections. In all these directions we see that our technical action is embedded in something which is non-technical and not to be reduced to rule, whether it be the hard facts of the natural order or the subtle qualities of personal relationships.

Furthermore, the meaning of science as an activity of the human spirit is a datum for the philosopher. What, after all, impels men to such an activity? The scientist is not aware of the forces at work within him; if questioned as to his motives, he would perhaps say that he has some very practical end in view. No doubt he has, but beyond that he is driven on by a hunger and thirst for ultimate reality. He is right in protesting against the intrusion into his work of any metaphysical hypothesis; but the very fact that he leaves ultimate questions unanswered makes it necessary that someone should endeavour to answer them. In his devotion to fact, his scrupulous conscientiousness, and his openness to evidence which militates against his own theories, the scientist is a unique phenomenon; only a sense that truth is an absolute could produce such as he. The more strictly we abide by the canons of scientific method, the more clearly shall we discern the relativity of their results, and while we accept those results with gratitude, we shall none the less reach out after what lies beyond them. That there is such a Beyond is the conviction to which the right use of science brings us. It is not that we are made philosophers by learning from some teacher of the limits of science; as we ourselves carry to their furthest venture the scientist's will to clarity and the homage he pays to simple, unostentatious fact, there will awake in us a consciousness of the Transcendent. As we pass beyond

the areas for which science can provide us with neat, exhaustive maps, we shall find that we are on holy ground.

II

What is this deep in us which answers to the deep we thus discover in things? My selfhood is no doubt a unity, but it is a unity within which various strata are to be distinguished. At the lowest level of all I am concrete being (*Dasein*), so much vitality organized for its own maintenance and for the propagation of its kind. Next, I am that consciousness-in-general the significance of which has been revealed to us by Kant, the understanding which I have in common with all rational beings, yielding knowledge without any taint of subjectivity and expressed in propositions which can be taken over by anyone who possesses the adequate mental equipment. Science is its work, its truth is the same on both sides of the Pyrenees, and it provides the medium in which all discussion is carried on. Above that again I am spirit, that which is for ever seeking to weld experience into wholes, my apprehension of Ideas which do not add to knowledge but guide the effort to know. Beyond that I come to the fact—shall I call it the highest or the most central?—of myself as ‘existence’ (*Existenz*); this is that in me which is always subject and in its own nature never can be object, since in all knowing there must remain the fugitive, unidentifiable knower; it is the centre from which all my decisions radiate, the point at which my selfhood is to be won—or lost!

What is meant by ‘existence’ in this technical sense—and the fact that Jaspers gives to his thought the name of *Existenzphilosophie* shows that in this conception we have his main message—is less a fact than a possibility and an obligation. It is less what I am than what I ought to be and can become; it is the bearer of responsibility; I only come into possession of it as I cease to be satisfied with the explanations of life which consciousness-in-general yields and which are

true for me only because they are just as true for everyone else, and make first-hand contact with the mystery and tragedy of things. 'Existence' cannot be analysed nor explained, the most that one can do is to shed light upon it so that it can be seen for what it is. Not that our object in so doing is to gain information about this deepest secret of our selfhood; rather do we want at once to express it as we find it in ourselves and so to arouse it where it lies dormant in others. For when I pierce through what I am as body, as social function, as life-history, and as character, I arrive at freedom and responsibility. Shall I not utter this freedom and this responsibility, in the faith that these are in my neighbour too and will hear and answer my summons?

For I am not isolated in the world; communication with others is as original a datum in my being as 'existence'. Communication is the synthesis of isolation and union; there can be no inner riches save as I give freely to my fellows, and what can I give if I myself am poor and empty? For this communication there is no special technique; one must use all the means which life in the world puts at one's disposal—social intercourse, scientific discussion, &c.—but so use them that two selves meet in utter frankness and sincerity and do homage to one another as real. Only love is adequate to such a task; for love is the strife of equals in mutual respect, a strife with one another to win the truth in oneself and in the beloved. Love is to win oneself by giving oneself, and it reaches its highest when two persons vie with one another in this enterprise. Of course, this sharing of the inmost self is not to be made easy and cheap; the salute of true souls may need years of reticence to prepare for it. At last, however, the spark leaps from 'existence' to 'existence', and once again there is truth in the world.

Never perhaps was this intercourse of personal selves more difficult and yet more necessary than in our time. Our age is one of mechanization and standardization; our technical advance has gone so far as actually to threaten

life itself. This is the theme of *Die geistige Situation der Zeit*. Man has come to be reduced to a social function and his very existence as a spiritual being is in danger. The teeming populations of our industrial cities have lost contact with the past; they have no longer the sense which their fathers had, that their daily work is set within a context, historical and supernatural alike, which gives it dignity and worth. Life to-day is substance-less, and therefore shifting and superficial. Man has identified himself with what should be only means to an end; in the midst of the vast apparatus he has created to serve life, he is on the point of losing life itself.

From such a state of things men seek refuge in various subterfuges. They sink their individuality in the mass, they give to sport the earnest attention which is due to work alone, or they acquiesce in the conditions under which they live as inevitable. Unwilling to be free because of the responsibility which freedom brings, they submit blindly to the authority of one who claims to be master, but who is really as much the slave of world-forces as themselves. The State is hostile to the individual, the Church is at the mercy of its institutional necessities, and philosophy has become a mere history of other men's thoughts. Where then is salvation to be found? Only in the refusal of individuals to be thus deprived of selfhood, in their readiness to accept a titanic responsibility. 'When men ask to-day in despair, What then is left to us in this world, the answer runs for each of us, What thou art because thou canst.' We must do to-day what men did in the War when the line was crumbling all about them and one here and another there, remembering the loyalty he had sworn, stood at his post till death. Nothing less is being decided to-day than the future of man: is he to remain a spiritual being or to become assimilated to the machine? Only he who lives at all costs out of his own inescapable responsibility before ultimate reality can answer this question aright. Nor will he be alone in so doing. For there is a mysterious solidarity of those who have truth in themselves;

they do not need to create new institutions to enable them to meet; in the institutions which already exist 'existence' speaks to 'existence', men recognize one another for what they are in the core of their souls, and a new power enters the earth.

Such crises as our time confronts are not as unusual as we think; rather is crisis an element in the most ordinary and commonplace life. Every now and again there are events which do not fall within our life as others do, but which mark the frontiers within which life lies (*Grenzsituationen*); it is as we meet their challenge that selfhood in its highest sense is won. Death, Pain, Struggle, and Guilt give life the specific quality it has; how I react to these reveals the manner of man I am. They are so many forms in which Transcendence challenges me to rise to the height of my vocation as a man.

Death, for example, comes to me in two ways. I meet it first as the death of another, the severance of the bond of communication between myself and my fellow. Now for the first time I not merely know, but actually feel, that the most precious thing life yields is subject to time and destined to disappear. Yet there is that in me which can lodge a protest against this dissolution, which can affirm an unbroken unity with the one who has gone, so that the loneliness which follows is something different from isolation. I dwell alone, but in a sanctuary of memories where sacred presences at times draw near. But the supreme challenge which I have to meet is in my own death, when I must venture my total self on the faith that there is a meaning in things and that what seems to be the end is not really such. At the very moment of dying, I can rise to fuller stature; when the human dread before annihilation comes upon me, I can conquer it by another dread—the horror of losing my spiritual worth at the last by cowardice or blind credence. It is at such an hour that faith reveals itself for what it is—at least for the philosopher; not the opposite of doubt, but its overcoming, the archangel standing with his foot on the writhing dragon

which, did he relax his hold for one instant, would turn and devour him.

III

So in these *Grenzsituationen*, at the frontier of life as at that of science, we meet with Transcendence; a thrill goes through our being as the veil moves which is over the face of the Unknown God. He is object neither of knowledge nor of volition, since nowhere does He enter our experience as One among others. He abides in silent majesty, to be sought only through our freedom, and revealing Himself only to the dauntless. Life is like a game at which we sit down with player after player; but One is still wanting and we ask, Will He never come? Then at the last we throw our total selves on the table and He is there!

Though there is no direct knowledge of the Transcendent, is there no way by which we can speak of It? Is there no language by which we can express our experience of It and so arouse in others the desire to find It too? So now the third path opens out before us, that of Metaphysics.

We may, for example, use the categories of the understanding as pointers to something beyond themselves, as when we speak of the First Cause or of God as one. God is not one in the sense in which a particular object in a series of similar objects is one; He is the unity with which we come into touch as we bring into a totality all the scattered forces which make up our life. That to which we attain at such a moment is not described, but only hinted at and suggested, by being spoken of as one.

But are we justified in using, as we have done, the terms 'Transcendence' and 'God' interchangeably? Yes, because the least inadequate symbol of the Beyond is personality and the least inadequate expression of my relation to It is the child's calm trust in the goodness, even when only partly understood, of his father. God is the hand stretched out to me when I am true to myself, the assurance of immortality,

and the power in fellowship with which I confront even the most adverse circumstance. I am because He is, for the deepest truth about my selfhood is that it is rooted and grounded in Another.

My relation to Him is not to be expressed in any formula, rather does it partake of antinomy and antithesis. Thus, for example, there is both pride and devotion in my attitude to Him, and neither apart from the other. There is pride, because like Prometheus I must challenge all that is, in the name of what my conscience tells me ought to be, and like Job must demand of God Himself a justification of His ways with me. And there is surrender, because there is neither peace of mind nor unity of the self for me save as I accept life's discipline for what it is, say 'Yes' to my lot. God conceals Himself for our freedom's sake; the devotion He prizes is that of men who have it in them to rebel against Him if they would, yet who from all their doubts turn to Him in humble trust.

Transcendence reveals itself in a world of signs and symbols; all experience indeed and all interpretation of experience is as the code-message of the God who conceals Himself even in His revelation. To decode what comes to us from Him in the events of daily life, in nature and history, in myth, dogma, and metaphysical system as man's various interpretations of this, is our supreme endeavour.

But when we have read all other signs, there remains the last and hardest to be read, frustration and defeat. For perhaps the Godhead keeps His supreme disclosure for the hour when we are tried to the utmost and failure stares us in the face. Death is inescapable for all, nature triumphs in the end over spirit on the plane of our experience, and the hero may falter and play the coward at the last. Nowhere is there guarantee of success: 'it seems to be the Godhead's will that by whatever way we seek truth we should do it at the risk of error.' Perhaps the divine cause is served better by my defeat than by my victory, as Greece could only civilize

the Western world after she had been conquered by Rome—how am I to know? Perhaps the final heroism that is required of me is that I should go to meet the frustration of my purposes and the ruin of my hopes, believing that this is the last veil over the face of God, and that when it is removed I shall see a glory which my eyes could not otherwise have borne to gaze upon. At any rate, when my hour comes, let me make the venture to which it calls.

IV

It is obvious that such a philosophy as this has close kinship with religion. For both the master-word is 'faith'. Yet Jaspers insists that the two spheres must be sharply distinguished, as the two kinds of faith are in some respects mutually opposed. Philosophizing is the affair of an individual who goes to war at his own charges; religion is a sociological force and requires to be incorporated in a Church. Religion is based on an exclusive revelation which came into the world through a unique individual at a particular point in time; this revelation is embodied in a sacred record and committed to the Church as guardian of the truth. The Church claims that Transcendence is not far off but has actually drawn near to men in word and deed, and it calls for obedient reception of its message; the philosopher is but a man seeking absolute reality through unimpeded freedom of enquiry and the exposure of his selfhood to ultimate adventures. There is no amalgamation of the two possible; between religion and philosophy one must choose.

Not that the two are enemies, however. Rather should philosophy salute in religion its next-of-kin, and acknowledge that religion possesses another and probably more adequate truth than its own. Philosophy, too, is only for the few; the vast majority of men could never attain to the life of the spirit otherwise than under the guardianship of the Church. Nor is the philosopher himself as independent as he imagines

sometimes; his boasted freedom, like everything of value in life, is not his own but something he has received; his whole labour of thought is but an effort to work over and think through the Christian tradition. And is freedom sufficient of itself to guide man? Does not the process by which he grows out of the child into the adult show that he needs authority also as the background of his life? No greater disaster can overtake a society than the loss of its religion, and the philosopher is convinced that the work on which he is engaged will not lead to such a result. Heretic he must be, yet cannot the Church recognize in him a friend, perhaps even a son?

E. L. ALLEN

TWO JOHNS

BUNYAN (1628-1688)—WESLEY (1703-1791)

OF the many Johns famous in story, two figured prominently during the year 1938. The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of one, whose death was commemorated; and the other, the celebration of his real conversion two hundred years before.

The writer once had the question put to him—Which of the two men, John Bunyan or John Wesley, exercised the greater influence upon the religious life of England?

To follow the spiritual careers of Bunyan and of Wesley, the history of their times must necessarily be considered; for each man—although the product of God and not of the period in which he lived—could but have had his career moulded to some extent by his environment: the life of the one being cast at a time when political and religious antagonism were rife and led to Civil War; and that of the other when the rebellious spirit in the Church of England arose, after the struggle for liberty which culminated in the Great Revolution of 1688, from which in steps Puritanism led to Evangelicalism and Nonconformity.

The thrill of religious controversy in the seventeenth century, followed by the reaction of rationalism and indifference in the eighteenth, led perforce to spiritual declension and moral depravity, with worse effects, perhaps, than those through the profligacy of the Stuart days.

As decreed by Providence, John Wesley entered the world when the English clergy were vacillating between Protestantism and Catholicism. Even his own parents (who had denounced dissent) were divided between the second James and William of Orange; as, despite the Church of England being presumably Protestant, certain of the clergy were loth to part with their sacrificial priestliness and other tenets of Rome, thus bringing about the so-called High and Low Church

parties, to both of which dissent was detestable. Attempts to bring together Dissenters and the Church of England proving futile, no wonder that seminaries sprang up for the training of dissenters, who were excluded from the universities. The hatred towards dissent being thus intensified led to the establishment of chapels for the use of those to whom the bishops refused ordination.

By birth and education Bunyan and Wesley are assuredly set widely apart. Bunyan, whose descent was 'of a low and inconsiderable generation', opened his eyes upon a confused world in a humble artisan's cottage in a Bedfordshire field; whereas Wesley was descended from 'a notable stock' and born in a Lincolnshire rectory amid culture and refinement. But was not each nurtured by a mother whose care bore future fruit? Bunyan says of his mother, that she was of 'a family of both decent and worthy ways'. Of Wesley's mother no comment is needed: her social distinction and scholarly attainments are too well known. And did not each mother see in her son 'the hint of some great unguessed future'?—to quote Dr. W. H. Fitchett.

The education that John Bunyan had is only conjectural. He says that it pleased God to put it into the hearts of his parents 'to put me to school, to learn both to read and write'. It is true that he elsewhere mentions a grammar school, which probably was that at Houghton Conquest. But John Wesley, who followed on his home learning at Charterhouse and Oxford, had educational advantages far beyond any dream of a tinker's son, although Bunyan's contemporary, John Burton (himself a graduate), could say of him—'this man is not chosen of an earthly, but out of the heavenly university'. Bunyan received his early religious instruction from 'holy' Mr. Gifford: John Gifford, the founder of the Gospel Church at Bedford, whose doctrine was faith in Christ and holiness of life: teaching that Wesley himself accepted and propagated. Neither Bunyan nor Wesley would compromise with sin; consequently self-abasement

was conspicuous in both men. Wesley exclaims, 'I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed'; and Bunyan confesses—'I went up and down bemoaning my sad condition, counting myself far worse than a thousand fools for standing off thus long. . . . Oh, that I had turned sooner . . . ' Each accepted the true light in a gradual way: Bunyan after fierce mental and spiritual conflict, and Wesley through a process of reasoning and by personal experience. But the comprehension of the New Birth led both of them to discover that justification is by faith: Bunyan at the age of twenty-five and Wesley ten years older. And in successive centuries they proclaimed salvation by grace. Like Bunyan, Wesley discovered that the Christian life depended upon more than mere church going, Bible reading, and saying of prayers. 'I cried to God for help'—says Wesley; 'I was nothing but a poor painted hypocrite'—acknowledges Bunyan. Wesley's endeavour to make people 'soul-conscious' was as urgent as had been Bunyan's desire to get them to 'fall in love' with their 'own salvation', and 'to forsake their sins, and close in with Christ'. Both anticipated the Methodist 'General' Booth's injunction to 'go for souls and go for the worst'.

'The Church was dead asleep'—states a writer of more than half a century ago: a statement confirmed by history. But not so exact is his further remark, that 'Wesley's vehement evangelisation was only a rough attempt to rouse her from her slumbers'. Nevertheless, the torpidity of the religious life of England became vitalized through Wesley's activities,—coupled with those of George Whitefield. Nothing but spiritual revival could possibly cleanse the soul of the nation; and John Wesley led the van: his 'voice touched many hearts'. Such genius for religious leadership as Wesley possessed none could claim for Bunyan. In this respect the influence of the two men differs. 'Bishop' Bunyan (as he was frequently styled) was to some extent a 'field preacher', but his sphere was limited to his own

and neighbouring counties, while Wesley's was unlimited. But each had used the graveyard as his preaching ground. Surely both men's hearts throbbed with the desire that all might be saved. That the power of the Spirit of God can 'restore the divine image, even in the souls of the most degraded'—was believed by Wesley, and by Bunyan before him; for Bunyan at the close of his last sermon, asked: 'Dost thou see a soul that has the image of God in him? Love him, love him; say, This man and I must go to Heaven one day.'

Although it may truly be said that Wesley had for his parish the whole world, Bunyan's writings are at least world-wide read. Each man lived to proclaim the same message with voice and pen. But Bunyan established no denomination. He was never a denominationalist. Nor was, perhaps, Wesley (in the strict sense) intentionally the founder of one. Being obsessed of the missionary spirit a peripatetic ministry followed, and, naturally, his groups of converts in town and village continued to forgather after he had left; it seems strange, therefore, that his efforts abroad were so unsuccessful; and yet the missionary zeal of Methodists, Wesley's successors, is renowned. Bunyan's concern for overseas ministry apparently began and ended by his contribution of a small sum of money (in 1670) towards the relief of 'the poor enslaved Christians captured in Algiers'. However, Bunyan's pilgrim-story has inspired the missionary spirit in others, and it has been rendered into 138 languages—and continues to be translated.

Bishops (who declared that the king was 'the breath of their nostrils') had no place in the spiritual life of either Bunyan or Wesley; for such orthodoxy as was constitutionally demanded by the Church of England would have unduly circumscribed their action. Their attitude brought persecution to them both: long terms of imprisonment for one, and exclusion from pulpits for the other. Yet neither Bunyan nor Wesley fell short in loyalty to his monarch. The

contempt shown towards dissenters in Queen Anne's reign was comparable to that shown to those outside the established church in Charles the Second's; both periods being marked by a determination to exclude preaching 'tinkers'; and the strong prejudice in Wesley's day impelled even Cowper to acknowledge in a veiled way only his admiration for Bunyan's genius:

I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame;

Revere the man whose *Pilgrim* marks the road,
And guides the *Progress* of the soul to God.

In his own time the intolerable persecution caused Bunyan to be denounced as a Jesuit; and Wesley in like manner to be ranked as a Papist. Furthermore, John Bunyan's teaching was said to have been 'of the Devil', and Wesley was charged with being an 'emissary of Satan'. This prejudice was no doubt aggravated because both men by preference preached to the poor: the poor in spirit as well as in substance; and yet each was heard and heeded by listeners in all stations of life, especially in London, where they had great gatherings and might have held remunerative pulpits. But they chose otherwise. The very theme of their preaching—when it turned towards the baptism of the Spirit—was repugnant to many: so strong was the acceptance of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Bunyan and Wesley, although both were baptized by immersion—at Bedford and Bristol respectively—were alike in their rejection of ordinances as essentials to salvation; but they differ in regard to the liturgy of the Church of England; for Wesley, although not actually prescribing its use (or his abridgement of it), was not adverse to it; but, in regard to the 'Common Prayer Book', Bunyan plainly declared that he could pray to God without it: he was for 'praying in the Spirit'.

It is interesting to relate that tradition states that Bunyan and Wesley were heard in successive centuries on the same

gospel theme and in the same room of 'a notable house' at Leicester. And certainly they both preached at Bedford—where Wesley's pulpit is now again in use.

It would be foolish to postulate that John Bunyan accomplished what John Wesley did. Wesley was used of God to bring about changes in the religious life of England, and his influence is evidenced to-day. For Bunyan no such claim is made: his influence was of a different character. Both men moved amongst masses of common people; Wesley, as well in the throng of those famous in all walks of life; but, although Bunyan had the fellowship and friendship of men of high estate, he remained to the end of his days devoid of social distinction as a tinker or brazier. Wesley and Bunyan were, however, akin in their affection for music. Bunyan shows his liking for it by not only his bell-ringing and the fiddle and flute that he made, but also by a frequent reference to music in his writings. And yet (unlike Wesley) he excluded singing from public worship; reserving it, no doubt, for the heavenly spheres of which he was wont to dream. And Wesley, too, knew those sounds which better touched the heart than earthly music; for once, after preaching a sermon, he said: 'Here was that harmony which art cannot imitate.' But though disapproving of part-singing, Wesley 'prided himself upon the congregational singing at his services'. And Bunyan, like Wesley, but perhaps with less success, also ventured into the realm of poetry or verse. Their minds, though by no means entirely prosaic, were too earnest and practical to soar above the heads of their listeners; and yet never were they commonplace in thought or expression. Perhaps both possessed to some extent a poet's imagination, but neither man was (as has been said of Bunyan) 'much of a mystic'.

Whilst Wesley was an insatiable reader of varied literature, Bunyan, especially in his maturer years, must have confined himself to a library limited not only in quantity, but also in subject. He gives no suggestion of intensive reading,

although he undoubtedly had access to a far bigger range than what is generally attributed to him—the Bible, Foxe's *Martyrs*, and certain Quaker and Ranters' books. But it is instructive to note the different appeal Martin Luther made to each man. With Bunyan, Luther's *Galatians* was preferred before all books he had seen (the Bible excepted) 'as fit for a wounded conscience'. Wesley, however, pours contempt upon it, and says, 'he (Luther) is quite shallow in his remarks on many passages, and muddy and confused almost in all . . . and hence often dangerously wrong'. And yet, in 1738, Wesley states in his *Journal* that, after hearing read Luther's preface to the *Romans*—wherein is described the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, 'I felt my heart strangely warmed, I felt I did trust in Christ, in Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved me from the law of sin and death'. Thenceforward Justification by Faith became Wesley's watchword as it had been Bunyan's. So Luther had helped them both; and each had had to pass from Romans seven to Romans eight.

Wesley, who busied himself by condensing classic works for the benefit of his own people, gave to the world, in 1743, what may be regarded as the first attempt to abridge *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Only a few copies of this work have survived, although it passed through seven editions. Such a gesture on Wesley's part marks his recognition of Bunyan's genius; and yet no mention of Bunyan's name is discoverable in Wesley's *Journal* or other of his writings. Despite what Dr. W. H. Fitchett says—John Wesley had 'nothing of Bunyan's dreamy genius', Wesley, nevertheless, did appreciate the application Bunyan made of it. But, as has already been said, neither man indulged in mysticism which could militate the stern reality of their ministry. They were too practical in their outlook to imagine vain things. To compare Wesley, however, with Bunyan, in the domain of literature, would be invidious,—except for style: they both

354 TWO JOHNS: BUNYAN AND WESLEY

expressed themselves in words and sentences that are short and direct.

From social, intellectual, and even religious aspects, John Bunyan and John Wesley were in life far apart. But in death they are close together: Wesley lying behind his chapel on the one side of City Road, and Bunyan on the other side, in a vault in Bunhill Fields. Bunyan on his deathbed gave utterance to the words: 'I desire nothing more than to be with Christ,' and Wesley, as he lay dying, declared to those around him: 'The best of all is, God is with us.'

Eternity alone can answer the question, Which of these two men exercised the greater influence upon the religious life of England? Aye, of the whole world!

FRANK MOTT HARRISON¹

¹The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Fitchett's *Wesley and His Century*; and to Dr. Bready's *England: Before and After Wesley*.

TRAHERNE AND WORDSWORTH

THANKS to the literary labours and researches of Mr. Bertram Dobell and Mr. H. J. Bell in the early years of the century, which have given the world the immortal *Centuries of Meditations*, and some of his finest poems, many are now able to enter into the golden treasure house of the thoughts of Thomas Traherne.

Our knowledge of the poet-mystic's life is but a few bare facts drawn from Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*. He was a shoemaker's son of Hereford, a fact which links him to another great cobbler-mystic, the German Jakob Böhme. He entered Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1652. Of his university career he remarks characteristically in the *Third Century of Meditations* that 'while he owed much to it in his rediscovery and interpretation of his childhood experiences, yet there was never a tutor that did professedly teach Felicity, though that be the mistress of all other sciences'. After the completion of his university career he entered the Church and became Rector of Credenell, near Hereford. Later he became Domestic Chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, combining with this office that of Minister at Teddington. He died at Teddington in 1674, and lies buried in the old church there.

It is obvious from the facts that the writings of Traherne can have had no direct influence on Wordsworth, but a remarkable spiritual affinity exists between the two metaphysical poets, an affinity that springs rather from deep and original sources of thought and outlook than from outward circumstances. Each of them seems, as it were, to confirm the inner and mystic reality of the other's inspiration.

The first and most striking resemblance between the two lies in their conception of the divinity of childhood and the early state of innocence from which we have all fallen. Every line in the ode on 'Intimations of Immortality from Recol-

lections of early Childhood' would have found a ready response in the heart of Traherne.

There was a time when meadow, grove and stream,
The earth, and every common sight,
To me did seem
Apparelled in celestial light,

and again the well-known lines:

Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home.

Such passages find their counterpart again and again in the *Meditations*: 'Will you see the infancy of this sublime and celestial greatness? Those pure and virgin apprehensions I had from the womb, and that divine light wherewith I was born are the best unto this day, wherein I can see the Universe. . . . Certainly Adam in Paradise had not more sweet and curious apprehensions of the world, than I when I was a child.'

Wordsworth goes on to tell of the gradual loss of all this infant glory beneath the heavy weight of worldly burdens.

At length the Man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day. . . .
Full soon thy soul shall have her earthly freight,
And custom lie upon thee with a weight,
Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life.

In the *Third Century of Meditations* Traherne tells us of a spiritual experience almost exactly similar.

'The first Light which shined in my Infancy in its primitive and innocent clarity was totally eclipsed; insomuch that I was fain to learn all again. If you ask me how it was eclipsed? Truly by the customs and manners of men, which like contrary winds blew it out; by an innumerable company of other objects, rude, vulgar and worthless things that like so many loads of earth and dung did overwhelm and bury it: by the impetuous torrent of wrong desires in all others that I saw and knew, that carried me away and alienated me from it. . . . Finally by the evil influence of a bad education that did not foster and cherish it.'

To both these great mystics and poets God is at once both immanent and transcendent, but it is only through His

immanence in the works and beauty of Nature that finite man can come to know and love Him.

Thus in the *First Century* Traherne says: 'You never enjoy the world aright, till you see how a sand exhibiteth the power and the wisdom of God. . . . You never enjoy the world aright, till the Sea itself floweth in your veins, till you are clothed with the heavens and crowned with the stars.'

This is immediately reminiscent of Blake's famous lines beginning: 'To see a world in a grain of sand,' but there are passages of the same nature throughout the *Prelude*, notably some beautiful lines at the end of Book 2 where Wordsworth sings:

Wonder not,
If high the transport, great the joy I felt,
Communing in this sort through earth and heaven
With every form of creature, as it looked
Towards the Uncreated with a countenance
Of adoration, with an eye of love.

In the lines which follow Wordsworth tells us in simple unaffected language how he owes all that is best in him to the mountains, winds, and sounding cataracts of his native home, how it is they, and they alone, which have prevented him from falling into utter despair in the midst of a perverse and selfish generation.

Both in his *Meditations* and in some of the finest of his poems Traherne returns frequently to the thought that God's manifestation of Himself only really exists through the mind of man. 'We could easily show that the idea of Heaven and Earth in the Soul of man, is more precious with God than the things themselves and more excellent in nature. What would Heaven and Earth be worth, were there no spectator, no enjoyer?' This same thought he has developed in one of his poems:

A Delicate and Tender Thought
The Quintessence is found of all He wrought,
It is the fruit of all His Works.

This conception is matched by several of the finest passages in the *Prelude*, notably the concluding lines:

Prophets of Nature, we to them will speak . . .
 Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
 A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
 On which he dwells . . .
 Of quality and fabric more divine.

For Wordsworth, too, God, Man and Nature are organically and essentially related.

I felt the Sentiment of Being spread
 O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still, . . .
 O'er all that leaps and runs and shouts and sings
 Or beats the gladsome air, o'er all that glides
 Beneath the wave, yea in the wave itself
 And mighty depth of waters; Wonder not
 If such my transports were; for in all things now
 I saw one life, and felt that it was joy.

In his poem 'Wonder', Traherne reveals to us his belief also that all things work together for good and joy to them that love God and His works.

Sins, Griefs, Complaints, Dissensions, Weeping Eyes,
 Were hid; and only things revealed
 Which heavenly spirits and the Angels prize.

In one respect Traherne was certainly happier than Wordsworth, that is in his comparatively early death. For he seems throughout his years to have retained that unabated zeal for the world of glories which was presented to his infant eye. Wordsworth, much greater poet though he was, was unable in the later years of his long life to retain these powerful emotions and it was during this period that he wrote some of those poems of his which hover perilously between the sublime and the ridiculous, but both saw alike the vision splendid, and there are striking resemblances between their interpretations of the light accorded them.

CECIL H. S. WILLSON

Notes and Discussions

THE STORY OF THE MERCHANT NAVY¹

A TERRA-COTTA model of a dug-out canoe, found at Badari on the Nile, is supposed to date back to about 5000 B.C.; it is almost certainly the oldest ship-model in existence. It is indeed a far cry from the primitive river craft which was the prototype of this model to the modern express liner. The pilgrim's progress by which water-borne craft passed on from this crude beginning to its present perfection provides the theme of Mr. Moyse-Bartlett's most interesting history, to which it is the purpose of the present article to call attention. The author is admirably qualified for the task which he has undertaken; at present on the staff of the Pangbourne Nautical College, he has spent six years afloat as wireless officer, and has had seafaring experience in ships of divergent type, ranging from tramp to White Star liner. He has thus enjoyed the opportunity of acquiring first-hand knowledge of life in the merchant navy under the most widely different conditions. He is to be congratulated upon having turned his knowledge and experience to such excellent account.

Alfred the Great may not unfairly be regarded as the real founder of the British merchant marine, though, of course, before his advent to the throne, ships were already plying for trade upon the narrow seas, and the Norsemen and the Danes achieving wonders on the outer seas, having made contact with the coast of North America five hundred years before Columbus. He encouraged the study of navigation, created a military and a trading fleet, and opened up communications with distant lands. His policy was continued by his grandson Athelstan, who sought to encourage maritime enterprise by enacting that a trader accomplishing three voyages on the high seas 'at his own expense should be ennobled as a thegn'. But progress was slow, and, for a century after the Conquest, British ships seldom ventured beyond the Bay of Biscay. Among the many formative influences exercised by the Crusades upon Western life and culture by no means the least was the extension of lines of communication, the opening up of new sea-routes, and the rendering of the idea of distant travel less unthinkable than heretofore. Where the crusader had gone the trader might follow, and distant voyages began to be undertaken. In the meantime, moreover, 'sea law' had become recognized in the 'Rôles d'Oléron', though the exact date of their compilation is uncertain. They were formulated to govern the coasting trade of Western France, and afforded the principal precedents for determining maritime custom from the twelfth century. The last ten articles were issued by Richard I on his return from the Third

¹ *The History of the Merchant Navy.* By H. Moyse-Bartlett, B.A. (Harrap. 7s. 6d.)

Crusade from the Isle of Oléron, whence their name. Further attempts to regulate sea traffic are to be found in trade treaties and Navigation Acts such as that of Richard II in 1381, which forbade Englishmen to ship goods except in English ships. The intention of these Acts was to encourage the expansion of the merchant fleet. Another expedient intended to secure maritime pre-eminence was the English claim to the sovereignty of the seas. As early as 1201 a law was promulgated imposing penalties upon any ship which failed to 'strike and veil its bonnet on the demand of an officer of a king's ship'. A law to this effect was enacted by Parliament about 1416. The claim was very generally recognized by foreign shipping for a matter of centuries.

The above are some only of the topics which are treated in Part I of Mr. Moyse-Bartlett's work—'The Merchant Navy in the Middle Ages (to 1419)'. Other matters, to which no detailed reference can be made, are to be found in the very interesting chapters dealing with developments in navigation, cartography and naval architecture. The text is really illustrated by some fine plates and numerous beautiful line drawings, showing maps, nautical instruments, and ships of the period.

The period which immediately follows is described as 'The Age of Discovery (1419-1715)'. It is the longest of the four periods into which the history is divided, and by the general reader will, perhaps, be found the most interesting. It was the great period of individual enterprise and personal endeavour, and the method of treatment is to a large extent biographical. It tells the story of the outstanding seamen and explorers who have conferred an undying fame upon this great age of geographical discovery, and written their names in indelible characters upon the pages of history. The Cabots, Frobisher, and Davis, Hawkins and Drake are some only of the great names of this wonderful time. The splendour of their achievements can only be fully appreciated when one realizes the crudity of their navigational equipment, and the tiny craft in which they faced the battle and the breeze, and the dangers of uncharted seas—Drake's *Golden Hind*, for example, weighed all told less by one-third than the rudder of the *Queen Mary*! These great captains for the most part, though not exclusively, found a sphere for their activity in quest of the North-West Passage, and quests of another kind in the Spanish Main, ever on the look out for an opportunity of singeing the beard of the King of Spain.

The growth of British maritime expansion in the East is, for the most part, to be seen in the history of that mighty commercial enterprise which, from small beginnings, was destined to develop into a splendid empire—The East India Company. This will be referred to in due course, but in passing it may be mentioned that Drake in his circumnavigation of the world, the true *raison d'être* of which was the trade of the Spice Islands, made a treaty with the Sultan of Ternate. This treaty, though its immediate result was not great, set a precedent; and indirectly led to the formation of the East India Company. The

pathway of Eastern seafaring became regularized with the recognition of the advantages of the Cape route. The first English expedition which sailed this course set out in 1591, and in 1600 was formed the 'Company of Merchants of London trading with the East Indies', at first a feeble rival to the Dutch Company, which it was destined later to eclipse. The result of the conflict between these companies in the islands was to drive the English company to the mainland; and in 1609 by the establishment of an agency at Surat was laid the first stone of the mighty fabric of British India.

Though the Cape route was now established the voyage was very long; and the search for a North-West or a North-East passage still went on, a work in which the East India Company interested itself. In the search for a shorter highway to the East a series of heroic explorers faced the rigours of the northern sea, and amid ice and bitter cold succeeded in forcing back the frontier of the unknown. Though not by any means the only ones, so far as this work is concerned, perhaps the most familiar names are those of Hudson and Baffin.

In the Eastern seas for nearly a century after the opening of the sea-route to India the Portuguese enjoyed something like a monopoly. But the English and Dutch companies eventually ousted them, and, as already observed, were soon at issue between themselves. Of these two the Dutch company was the stronger. It enjoyed a measure of State aid which its rival lacked, its shipping seems to have been more efficiently managed, and it was run upon more economical lines. In the early seventeenth century it definitely got the upper hand, and succeeded in excluding the English company from the Eastern Archipelago, as it had already ousted the Portuguese. This drove its rivals to the Persian Gulf and the mainland of India with far-reaching results. The English company also pushed its way farther east, to China and Japan.

Portuguese, Dutch, and English seem to have sighted or landed upon the Australian coast, where a little later, notable work was done by the great seaman-explorer William Dampier. Assisted by Cromwell's measures to strengthen English shipping, such as the Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651, from the period of the naval wars of the second half of the seventeenth century, the English company began to grow at the expense of its Dutch rival, whose maritime power began to decline, and France took the place of Holland as England's most formidable rival at sea.

Limitations of space make it impossible to do more than touch very lightly upon the next of the periods into which this history is divided—'The Age of Expansion (1715-1815)'. Among its outstanding features were explorations in the South Seas, and the Pacific, the great work of Captain Cook and his follower, George Vancouver, and the rise of the whaling industry. The East India Company, from a trading concern, was becoming something like a sovereign power, endowed with large authority and political rights, and maintaining its own military and naval services. The story of British shipping during the eighteenth century is, in the main, the history of this great

company. In the nineteenth century the great development of overseas trade, and the opening up of new sea-routes, has been largely the work of the great shipping companies, 'and we are concerned with a new mercantile class, the ship-owners rather than the traders'. These great shipping companies were the creation of the steamship, and, with the advent of steam, overseas trade took on a character undreamed of in earlier days.

This, in brief, is his main theme, and we are much indebted to Mr. Moyse-Bartlett for telling so well a wonderful story. The volume is one which would make an excellent school prize; it is one which should find a place on the library shelves of every boys' school and young men's club. We Britons are the children of the sea, and it were well that every British boy should know something of the history of the far-flung achievements of that sea-power with which our national prosperity and imperial power are bound up, and to which indeed they are mainly due.

Apart from the main story there are not a few incidental topics upon which welcome light is thrown, and to which some passing reference should be made. Among the more technical of these is the excellent account given, from period to period, of the development of ship-construction, linking up, step by step, the early dug-out with the *Bremen* and the *Queen Mary*. Interesting also are the chapters dealing with the technique of navigation, the evolution of instrumental aids thereto, and cartographic progress. The man in the street has heard of Trinity House, and is more or less aware that certain distinguished individuals are Elder Brethren of the same; but there his knowledge often ends. Mr. Moyse-Bartlett will tell him exactly what that institution really is, how it came to be so, and what are the duties and responsibilities of the Elder Brethren. The narrative is made the more interesting by being littered about with tit-bits of out-of-the-way information, some of which are certainly new to me. By way of illustration may be mentioned the origin of the name 'buccaneer', and its association with a certain method of cooking meat; that the colony of Carolina enjoyed for a time the luxury of a nobility of sorts, its charter empowering it to confer titles so long as they were not English ones, hence its landgraves, counts palatine, and caciques; that the first training-ship, moored between Deptford and Woolwich in 1786, bore a name very familiar in these latter days—*Beatty*. Of a somewhat different character is the romantic story of 'Angin Samma', *anglice* William Adams, the father of Japanese shipping.

In conclusion, there is one matter which, though it receives but incidental mention in the narrative, seems by reason of its intrinsic interest, and of the vagueness of general knowledge of the subject, to be worth something more than a mere passing reference. The name 'Cinque Ports' is no doubt familiar enough, but to many it is a name and little else. The ports are mentioned by Mr. Moyse-Bartlett as being, soon after the Norman Conquest, Dover, Sandwich, Romney, Rye, and Winchelsea. Resident as I am in one of the ancient ports, I could not but observe that the name of Hythe is

missing. This list, in fact, is not quite correct; Rye and Winchelsea are not of the original five, and even to-day in official documents they are cited, apart from the Cinque Ports, under their own proper designation 'ancient towns'. The original five stood on or not far away from five of the Roman forts upon which was based the 'Classis Britannica', under the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore. One would fain believe that the fine villa recently excavated upon the Folkestone cliffs was the residence of this great official, third in rank to the Roman officers in Britain. The Roman ports with their later representatives were Rutupiae (Sandwich), Dubris (Dover), Lemanis (Hythe), Romelis (Romney), and Anderida (Hastings). The earliest existing charter is preserved among the Hythe archives. It was granted by Edward I in 1278, and confirms the earlier charters granted from the time of Edward the Confessor and the Conqueror. It is a document known, I believe, as an 'Inspeximus', a title which, like those of some of the papal bulls, sufficiently explains itself. In this ancient parchment, which has been in my hands on the day of writing, the scribe or engrosser explicitly states that he has seen and examined the earlier charters, charters which, of course, are now lost to us. The charter is general in its reference, and no doubt each of the ports originally possessed a copy, though, as already mentioned, the Hythe copy is the only one still extant. This sole survivor has been so marvellously preserved that, so far as its appearance goes, it might have been written within the lifetime of men still living. It establishes beyond question the claim of Hythe to be included in the original five. To these last Winchelsea and Rye were brought in by a charter granted by Richard I, dated from Messina in 1190, when that king was journeying east to go on Crusade. The newcomers were brought in as 'ancient towns', and are so described in Jeake's *Charters of the Cinque Ports, Two Ancient Towns, and their Members*. This authoritative volume was completed in 1678, but, owing to the death of the author before it saw the light, remained unprinted for half a century, being eventually published in 1728. It is a very rare work, extremely difficult to obtain, but a copy is preserved among the archives at Hythe, the only copy that I have seen.

The Cinque Ports were the cradle of the British Navy, and their fifty-seven ships were the nucleus of the fleet. Fifteen days' free service per annum had to be given by the seamen of the ports; if called to serve more than the statutory fifteen days they were entitled to remuneration. But in return the Cinque Ports enjoyed great privileges, financial and commercial. They, furthermore, formed in some sort the nursery of British democracy, were outside the feudal system, were subject to no jurisdiction outside their own courts, and were subject to no authority save that of the King and their own Lord Warden.

This digression has been somewhat extended, but the subject is not without interest; at anyrate it may be pondered on the part of one who has for a decade been a resident in one of the old Cinque Ports.

W. ERNEST BEET

THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

WE should have to go back to the forties and fifties of the last century to find a parallel to the wealth of discovery which has reinvested the study of the textual criticism of the Bible with absorbing interest in the last few years. When Constantine Tischendorf was exploring the libraries of Europe and the Near East, deciphering palimpsests, discovering long lost writings, rescuing priceless manuscripts from destruction, editing texts of the Septuagint and the New Testament, the way was prepared for the great work which was achieved by the scholars of the last generation. But there is no finality in such labours, and the sands of Egypt and the almost inaccessible monasteries of a half-forgotten world have been yielding up their secrets. Those of us who thought we knew the latest results of textual criticism thirty-five years ago have had to go to school again. But what a joy it is to deal with a subject that is alive with fresh interest, and not dead with the certainty of bygone knowledge!

No British scholar has done more to claim the interest both of the general public and of the professional student for this subject than Sir Frederic Kenyon. His *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* first came out in 1901, and it immediately replaced all the older text-books on the subject. If later editions added details that were important, such as the new symbols for MSS., there was a charm about this first edition, with its wide margins and its excellent plates. Students of to-day have the latest information about the Greek Bible in the text-book which Sir Frederic Kenyon contributed in 1937 to Duckworth's *Studies in Theology*. This embodies the results of the newest discoveries. But it has one striking defect. There are no plates, and the student is left to imagine what the great Uncials or the most ancient Papyrus codices, or the later Cursives are like. Two books which have just appeared will prove invaluable in supplying what is of interest both to the theological student and to the general reader.

Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts is nominally the fourth edition of a book which Mr. Kenyon (as he was then) brought out in 1895. But let anyone compare the third edition of 1898 with the sumptuous fourth edition, and he will understand that what is before us is virtually a new book. The third edition was the same as the first, with four pages of additions and corrections. The size was crown 8vo, the printing was poor and altogether unworthy of the Queen's Printers. Now we have a noble volume, large in size, excellently printed, with 32 plates. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 10s. 6d.) The book is written primarily for the general reader, and all quotations from the Bible are given in English. But a great deal of the information will encourage the student to pursue the subject by consulting the Hebrew and Greek of the original text. There is much to enlighten the reader about the form and the making of ancient books, about variations in the Bible text, about the authorities for that text, about the Hebrew Old Testament, and the ancient versions of that Old

Testament into other languages. Then comes a still fuller treatment of the text of the New Testament with a brief summary of the history of the printed text and of the schools of textual criticism, and a concise list of the principal manuscript authorities. This is specially valuable because of Sir Frederic Kenyon's recent work as the editor of the Chester-Beatty Papyri. Chapters follow dealing with the ancient versions of the New Testament, the Vulgate in the Middle Ages, the English manuscript Bibles, and the English printed Bible. Two appendices add to the value of the book. The first gives a list of a hundred notable various readings in the Gospels and Acts. In the Gospels the left hand column gives the reading in the A.V. the right hand column the variant, and in both columns we have a list of the main authorities. In the Acts of the Apostles the right hand column furnishes the most notable readings of the 'Western Text'. The second appendix gives the first nine verses of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews in eight columns, showing the text of Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, the Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, the Bishops' Bible, the Rheims N.T., the A.V. and the R.V.

This is not a technical introduction to the textual criticism of the Bible, but we cannot imagine a more readable introduction to the whole field of study. A student who has read this through will find himself ready to go on to the technical discipline, already knowing something of the place which the history of the text of the Bible takes in the wider history of the life of the Church. But the main service done by Sir Frederic Kenyon is to give an individual life and an almost personal meaning to the documents about which he has been writing.

It is here that Professor W. H. P. Hatch has made a contribution which should do a great deal to enliven the student's interest. As Professor of the New Testament in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts, Dr. Hatch has made his mark as one of the authorities on ancient MSS. His latest work is the preparation of a superb volume, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament*. The publishers in the United States are the University of Chicago Press; in Great Britain and Ireland, Cambridge University Press. The cost is £2 10s. The price puts it beyond the reach of the ordinary student, but it is the kind of book which ought without any question to be in the library of every theological college, as well as in the more important public libraries.

Dr. Hatch's book will prove an invaluable companion to such a text-book as that which Kenyon has written for Duckworth's series, supplying the illustrations which are not to be found in that useful book. It is also an introduction to the study of Greek palaeography. Over twenty pages of introduction supply such information as is essential to an understanding of the palaeographical details which are printed on the page facing each of the plates. These plates illustrate Greek writing from the second century to the eleventh. The first plate shows that precious fragment of St. John's Gospel, recently discovered amongst some papyri brought to the Rylands Library in

1920, which is dated by expert palaeographers in the first half of the second century. All known papyrus fragments of the New Testament dated in the third century are shown. Every visitor to the British Museum can see the Sinaitic and the Alexandrine Codices with his own eyes, but here we can see beautiful reproductions not only of such well-known codices as the Vatican or the Regius, but some of the most recently discovered MSS. such as the Koridethi, the Washington, and the Chester-Beatty. How different will be the student's appreciation of young Tischendorf's exploit in transcribing the underlying Greek text in the great Paris palimpsest C, when he has examined the Plate No. xx, and what a far clearer conception will he have of the different types of bilingual MSS. after comparing Plates xxii and lxxv. It is true that Dr. Hatch unfortunately does not give the double page from the Codex Bezae, showing the Latin translation in parallel clauses opposite the corresponding Greek words on the left hand page, but the clear Greek writing stands out without any interlinear translation. Now the page which shows the Codex Sangallensis reveals the vast change in the Greek script, an interlinear Latin translation, written word for word like a schoolboy's pencilled crib, as well as the Ammonian sections and the Eusebian canons in the margin.

Much would have more, and one can only regret that it has not been possible to reproduce the beautiful contrast of colours in the purple manuscripts written with silver or gold. But the page which shows a specimen of Codex Sinopensis, the purple vellum fragment of St. Matthew, illustrates Matt. xv. 33-37, and reproduces one of the five excellent miniatures depicting events narrated in the Gospels. This one represents the Feeding of the Four Thousand.

With the help of this wonderful collection of reproductions the textual criticism of the New Testament ought to cease to be a mere juggling with algebraic formulae, and names and symbols will stand for friendly faces. When once the student has made friends with these witnesses of long ago, the personal history of each becomes a matter of living interest, and we are the more ready to find out who are the special companions with which they are generally to be found in agreement, and what is the peculiar character of the evidence which they declare.

There are many scholars and students who will regard Dr. W. H. P. Hatch as one of their benefactors. The dry bones of textual authorities have come to life.

W. F. HOWARD

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

THE interests of students of British Foreign Policy are being handsomely served by the University Press of Cambridge.

The recent comprehensive *History of British Foreign Policy*, in three volumes, edited by Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, has been supplemented by Dr. Seton Watson's excellent *Britain in Europe, 1789-1914*.

Professor Harold Temperley and Professor Lillian Penson (Professors of Modern History at Cambridge and London University respectively) now give us representative selections from the official dispatches, private letters and public speeches of successive Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries, accompanied by valuable introductions expounding their meaning and summarizing the policies therein declared.¹ The book is dedicated to Earl Baldwin, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Many of these documents are derived from entirely new sources, such as the private Clarendon and Gladstone papers, the Vienna archives and the more recent British Foreign Office archives which are closed to the ordinary student after 1885. Never in all our history has the average Britisher given such anxious attention to foreign affairs as during the last decade. Such a volume as the present provides an indispensable general background to the study of modern internationalism and supplies many a clue to the understanding of our contemporary problems.

The outstanding impression received by the reader of this large tome is that of the continuity of our policy. In spite of considerable differences in temperament and political principle of British nineteenth-century statesmen—Pitt, Castlereagh, Canning, Palmerston, Russell, Beaconsfield, Gladstone, Salisbury, Rosebery, a marked underlying similarity persists.

Yet this is not, on reflection, surprising. Fundamentals do not change.

The master-key both to the British character and policy has been our geographical position, close to but detached from the mainland. Although we could not push our detachment to the same lengths as the U.S.A., our relation to the Continent has been peculiar. We were of it and yet not in it. This hybrid situation supplies the key to the moderating and mediatorial role which our great Foreign Ministers have held to be Britain's true function.

And so in spite of altering circumstances abroad and party oscillations at home, Great Britain has maintained steadfast adherence to certain fixed maxims. Statesmen come and go, governments change, speeches, alliances and treaties are made and forgotten, but the stubborn features of national necessity abide.

Our geographical, economic and imperial interests make it essential (1) that no single State shall be permitted to destroy the Balance of Power and dominate the Continent; (2) that the independence and

¹ *Foundations of British Foreign Policy from Pitt (1792) to Salisbury (1902) or Documents, old and new, selected and edited by Harold Temperley and Lillian M. Penson. 1938. (Cambridge University Press. 25s.)*

integrity of the Low Countries shall be preserved. (In these days when our insular immunity is threatened by aeroplane, submarine and long-range guns, the security of the coasts of Northern France, Belgium and Holland is more vital than ever); (3) that the freedom of the seas, particularly of the Mediterranean, shall be guaranteed.

During the last twenty years (a period not covered by this book) two new points have come into prominence; to preserve friendly contact and the maximum of co-operation with the U.S.A., and to ensure the safety of our possessions in the Far East.

In the most famous State Paper in British History, Castlereagh in 1820 insisted on the principle of non-intervention, the obligation of England to follow 'a system strongly national and popular', and the impropriety of interfering by force in the internal affairs of other States.

'When the Territorial Balance of Europe is disturbed Great Britain can interfere with effect, but she is the last Government in Europe, which can be expected, or can venture, to commit herself on any question of an abstract character. We shall be found in our place when actual danger menaces the system of Europe, but this Country cannot and will not, act upon abstract and speculative Principles of Precaution.' Canning (1823) declared: 'Our station then, is essentially neutral: neutral not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles.'

Sir Eyre Crowe's great State Paper written nearly a century later reproduces what are virtually the ideas of Canning and Castlereagh.

This moderation and reserve, due mainly to our geographical position, were also necessitated by our parliamentary system of government. Nothing annoyed Bismarck in his treaty-making schemes more than the *non possumus* attitude of British statesmen. The essence of treaty-making may be secrecy, and in the House of Commons inquisitive members asked awkward questions! Further, as Lord Salisbury had occasion to repeat, Great Britain is governed by the Party system. 'If any Government concluded a treaty or promised to declare war for an object which did not recommend itself to public opinion, the promise would be repudiated and the Government turned out.'

Bismarck recognized no authority save that of the King of Prussia. Gladstone was the servant of the nation working through a sovereign parliament.

Englishmen never say all they mean in published documents or in public speeches. Even in these secret dispatches there are many delicious examples of our genius for understatement. Here is Palmerston in 1837: 'Unfortunately the History of the World abounds with instances to shew that it is unwise for any State to rely entirely for its defence even upon the most solemn engagements of other Powers, and Her Majesty's Government regret to say that the conduct of Austria, Russia and Prussia with respect to the Affairs of Belgium, has not formed any striking exception to the warning to be derived in this respect from the experience of preceding Times.'

Here is Castlereagh (p. 59): 'What good can these States hope to effect in France or Spain by their mere Councils? Perhaps it would not be far from the truth to say None whatever.'

In the Alabama dispute Gladstone argues in defence of arbitration (1873): 'It is not particularly agreeable to have to pay money to a foreign power,' &c.

Here are some remarkable forecasts:

As early as 1807 Canning foresees the peril to Europe of Prussian militarism.

At the very beginning of the century Pitt clearly anticipates the dangers of violent nationalism and the necessity of a League to enforce 'public law' in Europe.

In 1863 Palmerston said to the House of Commons: 'There is no use in disguising the fact that what is at the bottom of the German design . . . is the dream of a German fleet, and the wish to get Kiel as a German seaport.'

Talleyrand's famous *mot* about 'non-intervention' has not lost its point. When asked to define it he replied that 'it was a word signifying much the same thing as "intervention"'

Idealists will have many a shock in reading this book. Writing to Granville on the general principles of foreign policy Lord John Russell confesses: 'There is no rule which may not be broken through.' And again: 'If a treaty be found injurious to the interests of a country and some means of violating it are obvious, I do not know of what country in Europe we could predict a strict observance of the Treaty.' We are reminded of Mr. Chamberlain when we read that Lord Aberdeen in the 'forties had definite ideas in respect to conciliating two of the despotic powers of Europe. He believed 'that the establishment of *personal relations* with the rulers of those states might readily improve diplomatic intercourse'.

In 1860 Palmerston determined to stop Spain by force from invading Italy. (The document was concealed from the public, though well-known to diplomatists.) 'I think it is quite impossible for us with a powerful Fleet in the Mediterranean to stand by and see Spain crush by force of arms the nascent Liberties of Italy!'

In the light of to-day, what a comment on the whirligigs of Time.

Here is an example of disinterestedness which sheds lustre on the champions of Italian liberation: 'When Garibaldi left Naples for his solitary home on the rocky isle of Caprera, he was poorer than when he had left it. All honours had been refused, a dowry for his daughter, an estate and a Dukedom. But he carried with him a seed-bag of corn for his farm, his only reward for making Victor Emmanuel King of Italy.'

This book supplies valuable guidance to the politician of to-day. One or two specimens are all that can be given. In 1859 Lord Malmesbury remonstrated with Sardinia: 'None more than Her Majesty's Government sympathize with the wrongs which portions of the Italian people have endured on the part of their Rulers. Her Majesty's Government know them to be almost intolerable; but they are

equally convinced that it is not by provoking the terrible curse of a European War that any part of Europe will acquire real freedom or her people obtain happiness.' If true then, how much more now!

Through the greater part of this fascinating volume 'old Pam's' vigour and high spirits shine out. It was a happy stroke of his to dub King Bomba's successor 'Bombalino'.

When Russell succeeded Malmesbury, Palmerston wrote exultantly: 'How refreshing it must have been to the people of the Foreign Office to have to read two such dispatches as yours, after Malmesbury's milk and water.'

Again, with reference to Austria's rule of Italy: 'It is an act of political Infatuation in Austria to cling to the Possession of a country which it cannot hold without crushing it and Treading with her Iron Heel on the neck of a resentful population.'

On Prussia's truculent handling of Denmark: 'There cannot be a principle more dangerous to the maintenance of peace or more fatal to the independence of the weaker Powers, than that it should be lawful for a stronger Power whenever it has a demand upon a feebler neighbour, to seize hold of part of its territory by force of arms, instead of seeking redress in the usual way of negotiation.' This is well enough, but utterly useless as a check of the designs of Bismarck.

Here we come in sight of Palmerston's greatest blunder and defeat. With wit enough to discern that the rise of Prussia was a sinister portent, he lacked the resiliency and power to adjust himself to the new situation.

Bismarck said bluntly that his only originality in diplomacy was to speak the truth. He was as frank as Hitler. In 1862 he made his prophecy to Disraeli: 'As soon as the army shall have been brought to such a condition as to inspire respect, I shall seize the first best pretext to declare war against Austria, dissolve the German Diet, subdue the minor States and give National Unity to Germany under Prussian leadership.'

Palmerston and Russell, full of their faith in 'constitutionalism', believed that Bismarck's arbitrary defiance of the Prussian Parliament must end in disaster. They believed, that is, not only that the French Army would beat the Prussian, but that the majority of the Prussian Parliament would ultimately reduce Bismarck and the King to submission. It was a grave miscalculation.

Prussia was no Mazeppa whirled away on the mad horse of Bismarck's ambition. Instead, Bismarck was enthusiastically supported by the nation at large, and was beginning that dramatic adventure which ended beneath the Arc de Triomphe at Paris.

Well-intentioned Englishmen are too prone to imagine that conditions at home afford an accurate criterion of conditions abroad. It is still thought in some quarters that a wide gulf has existed between the aims of German Governments and the real wishes of the people.

There is not a tittle of evidence that the German people disapproved, e.g., of the policy of the Kaiser and his Ministers which led to the Great War, of the 'methods of barbarism' adopted by Germany

in Belgium and elsewhere, and of the submarine campaign against unarmed merchant ships.

It is impossible not to make from these documents of a past century, continual applications to the events of our own time.

As a warning against trusting too implicitly to the alliances of the hour it is worth while to remember that in the middle of the nineteenth century *France* was the enemy. Our naval supremacy was seriously challenged. It was against the peril of a *French* invasion that Great Britain made a strenuous effort to outdistance French naval competition, and Tennyson wrote 'Form, form, riflemen form' as a stimulus to joining the Volunteers.

In a private letter to Cobden (1862) Palmerston hits off the danger of 'unilateral' disarmament. 'It would be very delightful if your Utopia could be realized. . . . But unfortunately man is a fighting animal.'

To the argument that it would be better to rely on accumulating wealth instead of arms, he replied: 'That would only be offering to the butcher a well-fatted calf instead of a well-armed bull's head.'

Could the dangers and difficulties of equality be better put than in the following: 'Intimate alliances cannot long subsist between equal Powers. These relations can be lasting only between a stronger and a weaker State, when the weaker allows itself to be guided by the stronger.'

This declaration of Gladstone (1870) has an obvious bearing on certain States in Europe to-day: 'The demand of a belligerent people expressed by its constituted organ, must be taken as the authentic expression of its will. But this expression may vary in moral weight and authority according as it may in given cases express the free and ascertained sentiment of the nation, or on the other hand the sentiment of those who, thinking in accordance with the governing power, are allowed to speak their mind, while others who differ are put to silence by the action of the Government.'

When Europe falls sick, the usual suggested cure is to hold a Congress. Voices are heard to-day calling for such a Conference. It should not be forgotten that a Conference may accentuate rather than resolve differences, and give rise to the very quarrels it was intended to avert. Examples could be culled from this book to show that much, if not everything, depends on the state of mind of the parties before they go into the Conference Room. Treaties are only effective while they express rather than suppress the aspirations of the signatories. They are a temporary expedient and the corrosive effect of time soon makes inroads upon them.

In 1814-15 the statesmen at Vienna, like their successors a century later at Versailles, strove to find some formula of peace in the shape of a concerted agreement between the nations. The peacemakers of Vienna bound themselves together in mutual support and agreed 'to renew their meetings at fixed periods, to discuss matters of common interest'. (In this article lay the germ of future international agreement.) The treaty of Vienna (practically a Four Power Pact) pre-

served peace in Europe for forty years. Yet from the first, its authority was ambiguous; nations interpreted its provisions to suit their own interests. ('If they will be theorists,' said Castlereagh, 'we must act in separation.')

The crux then, as now, in the constitution of the League of Nations, was whether the doctrine of joint guarantee or 'collective security' was absolute and binding, or relative and 'moral'. It was shown to be true then, and is more true to-day when the cost and risks of war are so much greater, that great Powers will not surrender their freedom of action nor undertake a war except when the most imperative national interests demand it.

Castlereagh was a realist, though not a cynic. He summed up the lesson of his own experience: 'The problem of a universal alliance for the Peace and Happiness of the World has always been one of speculation and of Hope, but it has never yet been reduced to practice, and it never can.' Such a verdict does not undermine hope but does supply a salutary warning to hasty optimism and reminds men of the serious obstacles to be overcome.

Victorian statesmen are generally dismissed by young people nowadays as pompous and stodgy. Such a judgement falls short of the truth. On one occasion Count Apponyi (Austrian Minister) admired a handsome stick that Lord John Russell (a warm friend of Italy) carried. 'I am glad you like it,' said Lord John, with a quick upward look, 'it belonged once to Garibaldi.'

On another occasion Apponyi's son attended a diplomatic reception at Woburn Place. He could not find his hat as he was leaving. Russell said: 'I'll give you one.' He brought out one of his own, fitted it on the young man's head, crushing it down. 'There,' said he, 'I hope it will get some good liberal ideas into your head.'

The sentence in the book which stands out in my memory describes a memorandum of Castlereagh's: 'It was a private document, never intended for formal communication, far less for publication, and may be taken as expressing Castlereagh's most sincere views!'

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

AN EARLY IDEAL OF COMPULSORY RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

IN these days when the Spens Report and the 1936 Education Act have roused renewed interest in the question of religion in education, and when Voluntarism is resigning before the return of Compulsion, those who can hope that Time in running back may yet bring in once more a golden age when there was a real spiritual basis for education, may light with interest upon these gleanings from the work of Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man from 1698 to 1755.

The comparatively circumscribed sphere of the Isle of Man enabled him to put into practice ideals in education which could only come

very much later in England. In 1703 he laid the foundations of a work to which he gave the main attention of an episcopacy of fifty-seven years, when in his Ecclesiastical Ordinances, he published this decree:

'For the promotion of religion, learning and good manners, all persons shall be obliged to send their children as soon as they are capable of receiving instruction, to some Petty School, and to continue there until the said children can read English distinctly. . . .

'And that such persons who shall neglect sending their children to be so taught, shall be fined one shilling per quarter to the use of the schoolmaster, who may refuse to teach those children who do not come constantly to school . . . and their parents shall be fined as if they did altogether refuse to send them to school. . . .

'And for the further encouragement of the schoolmasters, they shall respectively receive over and above the salaries allowed them, sixpence quarterly from the parents of every child that shall be taught by them to read English, and ninepence quarterly from such as shall be taught to write. . . .

'Notwithstanding, when the parents or relations are poor and not able to pay . . . such children are to be taught gratis.'

Exemptions were granted at summer and harvest, provided the children attended the parish Church for an hour before evensong every third Sunday for instruction by the Vicar. The clergy were also to visit the Petty Schools the first week in every quarter, 'and take account in a book, of the improvement of every child'. That these measures, which gave the Isle of Man compulsory education 170 years before England, were made effective, is witnessed by a document of 1704 recording that in a single parish seven fathers were each fined five shillings.

The special care the Bishop always felt for education is shown by his constant settlement of gifts or legacies for charity on the schools. Ten pounds from the Archbishop of York were thus used in 1720, with the remark: 'Thirty children will be taught and clothed with that charity for one year.' Lady Betty Hastings, who died in 1739, also left him £20 per annum in her will for his Petty Schools.

In 1724, the Bishop founded a school at Burton, in Cheshire, his birthplace. His rules for it stress that the Master should 'take special care to make children sensible of the end of learning, which is, to be better able to read the Holy Scriptures, and therein to learn their duty to love, to fear and to serve God acceptably all their days, that they may be happy when they die'. It was his constant theme that education should always subserve man's spiritual growth, and throughout his life he never failed to make use of any occasion of a notorious crime to underline the necessity of bringing up children to realize the Christian truths by stressing such evil effects of a bad upbringing. Hence the Petty School was always under the Vicar's jurisdiction, and the abuses of that jurisdiction arose not because the Church asserted her tyranny but because she neglected her duties altogether. Bishop Wilson believed that these schools should lead up to a child's confirmation, or rather to a child's being able to understand the catechism which was the pre-requisite of confirmation. He made his Charges to the Clergy of 1747 centre round this subject, and he alludes to the Petty Schools as 'the foundation of catechising' and to the fact that no parish was without one. By way of incentive he draws a picture of

'the work in South Wales, these past six years, where sixty-six thousand and eight hundred people have been taught to read, and according to their capacity, to understand their catechisms, say their prayers, and sing the common psalm tunes'.

The duty of rectors and vicars was not merely 'to hear the young people hurry over their catechism by rote—to the offence of all serious people, but to instruct them in a plain and familiar way in the great truths they are required to get by heart, and whereby they must be saved'. He makes the shrewd remark: 'This is a certain truth that everyone who does not know why he is a Christian is in the ready way to become an infidel,' adding, in prophecy: 'This will in time be the sad consequence of an uncatechised generation.' The necessary instruction in these 'foundation principles' cannot be given adequately, he says, 'in set discourses out of the pulpit, but in a plain familiar manner out of a desk, where questions may be asked and things explained so as both young and old may be edified'. He sums up his assessment of the position thus:

'If every rector, vicar and curate would but spend one hour in every week in visiting his Petty School, and see how the children are taught to read, and say their catechism and their prayers, and how they can answer in the little book called: "The Church Catechism broke into short questions," which every master hath, or can have for the asking—if this were faithfully done, and the masters reproved when they are lazy or negligent, there would soon be a change for the better among young and old.'

Bishop Wilson preserved wonderful unity and peace in his diocese. Though broken at one point by an unhappy dispute with the Governor and his own Archdeacon (as a result of which the Bishop was imprisoned for some months), this peace kept the Island free from dissent for a full generation after his death. About 1740, an English clergyman who was a follower of Whitefield, and who later worked with the Wesleys and was one of the six clergymen at the first Conference of 1744, landed in the Island, and asked for permission to hold irregular Sunday afternoon services. These the Bishop forbade, saying that afternoons spent in expounding the Catechism would have much better effect. He thus incidentally prevented a Methodist footing on the Island, and it is ironically appropriate that John Wesley's own words should give an assessment of the Bishop's work. After forty years of unparalleled experience of all parts of Britain, he visited the Island in 1777. Everywhere he passed admiring comments on the religion and behaviour of the folk, and wrote: 'A more loving, simple-hearted people I never saw; and no wonder, for they have but six Papists and no dissenters in the Island. It is supposed to contain thirty thousand people, remarkably courteous and humane.'

Rough-hewn as this ideal is to us, there is no doubt that in its century it was effective, and one could not unreasonably commend to our generation as established truths the two principles that underlie it, namely that all education must aim at making every man understand 'according to his capacity' the nature of a universe which is spiritual as well as physical, and his place in it—a principle now universally recognized, though indifferently acted on—and secondly,

that far from the abuse of religious education beginning when the Clergy enter the schools, its decline dates from the Church's neglect of that supervision—a point on which there is some controversy to-day.

R. KISSACK

'HEARKEN UNTO THE WORD'

A GERMAN NOVEL ON JEREMIAH

WE have had to wait long for someone to pass the story of Jeremiah and his times through the alembic of his creative imagination and produce something in the nature of a prose poem. A German novelist, Franz Werfel, has to a great extent done this, at any rate he has given us a living picture. He has managed to convey the atmosphere of a locality, transplanted us to the 'open and arid landscape' of Anathoth, and yet enabled us to see it relieved of its stark nakedness by the blossoming of trees in the early spring-tide. The ancestral home and family life are also painted with realistic colouring. We see Jeremiah as a solitary:

'As a child he had held back timidly from the company of men even from that of his father's house and own family. On his roamings through the country side he had often longed for love and understanding, but when he was again sitting at Hilkiah's table and listened to his father's grumbling, the bitterness of Obadiah and the bragging of Joel, he could hardly choke down the odious torment that filled him.'

The morose, turbulent father nursing his grudge against Jeremiah for forsaking the old home, the two brothers so opposite in temperament playing, sometimes in opposition and sometimes together, against the young Jeremiah, the youth himself, silent, brooding, already an outcast, his face lit up every now and then with the light of an inner illumination, are convincing touches in a domestic scene drawn with a sure hand.

The vision of the almond blossoms is represented as coming to Jeremiah in a dream after an exciting day in Jerusalem, fraught with a sense of his pending mission. In this book the young prophet beholds, as in a waking dream, a spray of an almond tree fitted into the window of his bedroom, and not an orchard or avenue of trees as one has been taught to think of the vision. Werfel's account destroys nothing of the vividness of the familiar picture. The novel actually opens with a description of Jeremiah and Hananiah as cup-bearers to the young king Josiah, and Jeremiah in one scene is bidden to take from Shaphan the roll of the law and read it in his stead. He is represented as elevated to a position of honour sharing the same sleeping chamber with the King. Josiah comes fully to life in this chapter. He bounds 'up to his seat like a lion,' he has 'a fresh coloured face, framed in a short beard' and is radiant with health 'with a brighter glow than on his coronation'. And when borne mortally wounded from the battle field of Megiddo he loses none of his magnificence and dies every inch a king.

If disposed to look for them, we can find any amount of historical inaccuracies. It has been pointed out by Dr. Peake that the call came to Jeremiah in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign. The young king Josiah and the boy in the priest's home at Anathoth were of an age, says Dr. George Adam Smith, but he thinks that the boy may never have seen the King, and 'to the close of Josiah's reign he seems to have remained too obscure to be noticed by his monarch'. Our novelist hurries Jeremiah with the Queen Mother to Egypt after the death of Josiah, with the evident purpose of bringing out the lover in the heart of Jeremiah; for he is made to fall in love and become betrothed to an Egyptian maiden, who in the interests of the progress of the story has to be killed off. The writer's intention is doubtless to bring out the tender susceptibilities of Jeremiah's character but seems to be somewhat side-tracked by his interests in Egyptian mysteries and the religion of the house of the dead which he describes at great length. This we think somewhat impedes the movement of the plot.

The real value of the book is the insight into the nature of Jeremiah, the sympathetic portrayal of the relationship of Jeremiah to Jeremiah's God.

'The Lord and he were not on the same plane. Each stood alone on two remote peaks, calling to each other and making mutual signs which the man was incapable of understanding. Between them was an unbridgeable gulf, a wild underbrush consisting of the whole world of beings. Between them lay the language of mankind, uniting and separating them at the same time, a swaying bridge without railings and whose planks were split in the middle. Who could venture far on such a bridge? Jeremiah, who longed for nothing more ardently than clarity, received obscure words and signs. He received them when he did not ask. And if he asked, as he did now, Adonai remained obscure.' The insight shown into the religious consciousness of Jeremiah in this and other passages is only possible in a man to some extent in harmony with Jeremiah's temperament, one enjoying to some degree a spiritual affinity with his hero. Throughout the book of Jeremiah as we have it in the Old Testament, it is Jeremiah rather than Jehovah who is revealed, a man who for long periods is but dimly aware of God and at other times is seen in opposition rather than agreement with Him. We have indeed the first complete picture of the man of God as a human being 'not a cabbage or a machine but of like passion with ourselves'. Often other prophets are hidden beneath their visions and words, here we see one in all his moods and tenses, fluid, uncertain of himself, over-confident, discharging a duty with firmness and courage but flinching before its performance and afterwards suffering most terrible physical and spiritual reactions. It is such a portrait that our novelist has drawn. The story may not be true to history but it is true to the inner life.

Hearken Unto the Word is a presentation of a man twisted and tortured out of shape, exactly what we find him to be when we piece together isolated verses and passages from the book of Jeremiah.

A poet gifted like Robert Burns to sing folk songs of his own countryside, he is driven to steal the thunder of the prophets. By nature almost feminine in disposition, a lover of home and little children, a family man by nature, he is compelled to live in strife, become the enemy both of kings and people. And this life of perpetual self-immolation and controversy is directed not only against man, but sometimes against God. This life of eternal conflict was doubtless registered in the prophet's face and Werfel has in a few strokes etched the disfigured face of this man of sorrows. He depicts him picking up a shining brass disc and discovering what manner of appearance is his, while the assistants in the sadler's shop drop their work and look at him with a mixture of awe and ridicule. The face

'was almost of an old man, with flowing grey hair and beard and a deep red cleft on the forehead between the eyes, who looked up at him questioningly, but Jeremiah was neither horrified nor even surprised. In his heart he knew the reason for this further change in him. The Lord had erased for ever from his countenance the semblance of Hilkiah, the visible record of his forefathers'.

'Is not the story of Jeremiah,' says George Adam Smith, an 'example of the processes by which to this day, in the Providence of God truth is sifted and ultimately beaten out—namely debate and controversy between different minds and different schools of thought . . . the evidence for revelation by argument which the book of Jeremiah affords is not the least of its contributions to the history and philosophy of religion.' Jeremiah as we have seen carried debate into the very courts of Heaven.

'Too righteous art Thou O Lord, that with Thee I should argue
Yet cases there are that I must speak with Thee of.'

There is nothing inconsistent with the almost unrelieved tension of soul which Jeremiah had to endure throughout a life-time and the revelation of the most personal religion he has given to mankind in the New Covenant, to be written in men's hearts. The imaginative treatment of this great character suffers nothing to discredit Jeremiah in the eyes of this generation but rather shows him as a man of sorrows bequeathing to all time his rich spiritual insights and discoveries.

I should judge that the translation from German into English has been well done by Moray Firth: the book is published by Jarrolds. But why, one must ask, did the author find it necessary to employ the hackneyed device of putting an Englishman into a kind of trance and making him play through the rest of the book the part of Jeremiah, coming out of his metamorphosis on the last page or two? The five Englishmen holding a conversation overlooking the Dead Sea and Clayton Rees going up to Jerusalem in the company of a young lady and leading us, so to say, into the story are quite unnecessary and artistically unconvincing. This quibble apart, it is heartening to pick up a good novel on a great character.

J. HENRY BODGENER

METAPHOR, SIMILE AND ANALOGY

METAPHOR, simile and analogy have points of difference if we attempt rigidly to define them but, like pleasure and pain in the Socratic conception, they are united at the head. They are all manifestations of a wonderful faculty peculiar to man or rather to some men—the simultaneous mental perception of two or more related things, a multiple simultaneous vision. This is not a common endowment and is not to be confounded with another mental phenomenon which is common enough, viz., that kind of double vision which is due to a squint in the eyes of the mind. When Landor makes Epicurus say of metaphor: 'that man sees badly who sees everything double,' he confounds the issue. For there is no true correspondence between psychic squint and the real simultaneous vision which is responsible for most of Man's discoveries and many of his pleasures. In the first case, one thing is seen twice over, in the latter two separate things in different planes. The mathematics is not the same: in the former the multiplication is false, in the latter real. With far greater insight did Aristotle write: 'The greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor. This alone cannot be imparted by another—for to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblance.'¹ The charm and the pleasure which result from the inspired use of the trope have their root in the true simultaneous vision.

Most men, in respect of mental eyesight, are in the position of the Cyclops. But the poet looks upon reality with two eyes, he deals with two images and fuses them and so has real stereoscopic vision, which means that he sees things plainly and sees them as possessed of depth. There is no confusion but a blending—a solidification. This is one reason why, in the words of Matthew Arnold, poetry is able 'to awaken in us a wonderfully full, new and intimate sense of things and of our relation to them'.

The possession of this linking capacity, this ability to see two things and to unify them, is made manifest by the capacity to transfer. For metaphor means transference. The simultaneous mental vision enables its possessor to see the kinship between a familiar concept or idea and one far richer but of whose relationship only the poet may be aware. Borrowing some of this wealth, he transfers it to the meaner concept, using as the instrument of transference the trope. Thereby a whole train of qualities can be instantaneously conveyed. Certain large consequences flow from these possibilities.

The first, and perhaps the most important, is emotional increment. A transference of emotion goes along with the transference of attributes. Now there are certain ideas and concepts which, more powerfully than others, set free emotional forces. They are more powerful because more universal. When the poet, by some new and strange insight of his own, experiences a new and vivid emotion, he casts about for some means to re-present it to minds less rare. This he often does by drawing upon the common emotional stock available

¹ Aristotle: *Poetics*, XXII. Butcher's Translation.

for all and connecting this up with his special intuition by means of metaphor or simile:

Ah! what a sweet Recess, thought I, is here! . . .
In rugged arms how softly does it lie,
How tenderly protected.

Here the poet simply and artlessly appeals to a homely, elemental emotion, instinct in all, and enlists by his figure the warmth of sentiment engendered in behalf of his little haven in the windswept spaces of a mountain solitude. He throws around the spot, like a warm garment, the genial interests of the human heart. Metaphor, simile and analogy are thus the ducts or channels by means of which are caused to flow from their main reservoirs the fertilizing and vivifying currents of sympathy. The universal emotions are linked up with some discovery of the poet's own.

This emotional increment may be obtained almost equally well by two opposite methods: a process of magnification whereby the less is brought into comparison with the greater, and the inverse process of diminution. Just as the chemist, by resolving a complex body into simpler ones, releases energy, so the wielder of simile or metaphor can sometimes liberate emotion by a descending process, as when Benjamin Franklin spoke of Britain as 'that pretty island, which is but like a stepping-stone in a brook, scarce enough of it above water to keep one's shoes dry'. In some cases, however, it will be found that the seeming diminution is in reality a disguised magnification. Of this a striking example may be cited from the Hebrew poet who wrote the psalm from which this sentence is taken: 'He rideth upon the heavens as though it were upon an horse.' For if the heavens be reduced to the measure of a horse, what must then be the stature of that Rider who is able to mount them?

A second important consequence is illumination. A metaphor or simile may instantaneously irradiate an obscure passage like a brilliant lamp suddenly lit in the dark. This, also, is due to that power of transference which enables the poet to convey the light by which he sees things to others. Metaphor and simile are the lanterns he provides for us in order that we may be able to see as he sees with his superior vision. He may also make use of analogy as a means of illumination, but then the light is more diffuse and less intense. The skilled craftsman chooses his lamp according to his purpose.

There are at least two other functions of metaphor, simile, and analogy and these likewise depend upon this power of transference. These two functions may be classed as sartorial and protective. All three are capable of being so used but it is, perhaps, in the case of analogy that these functions are best exemplified. 'Curs bark at strangers,' is a Heraclitean maxim as applicable now as when Heraclitus made it. A new idea or concept is less likely to provoke hostility if clothed in familiar raiment and properly guarded when it first sees the light. By the aid more especially of analogy, a new thought or idea is at once invested with some of the trappings of familiarity and so may, perchance, secure some immunity from barking dogs and

brick-throwing natives. After all, strangeness with its attendant perils is largely a matter of clothes. Strange garments are often less well tolerated than strange persons. If a man's clothes are orthodox, we may overlook or get used to unusual personal traits. He gets a chance at any rate. In like manner, an original thinker who can, by means of analogy, throw around a naked, new-born idea a ready-made and familiar garment, makes it presentable, and may even be able to secure for it a kind and tolerant reception. His thought is at least introduced in a garb which bears some resemblance to the prevailing fashion. Science and philosophy, as well as poetry, take advantage of this universal weakness of humanity for the familiar, and here analogy is often uncommonly helpful. The surprisingly good reception of Bergson's *Creative Evolution* which, as has been said, for a time made Philosophy almost popular, was due in the main to its author's attractive use of analogy.

Analogy has its dangers, and because of its easy misuse, has in some quarters been too lightly esteemed. 'Analogy is not argument.' Indeed no, but properly used, analogy does not enter into competition with argument. It is at once greater and less than argument, but the spheres of the two are different. Analogy is an open window whence a man may look out to spy whether truth be in the neighbourhood. Argument goes out for truth with net to capture and pin to impale, like a collector of specimens, but analogy leads a man up into high places whence he may look upon the province of truth as upon a promised land. Argument can but deal with material which has already been gathered, but analogy brings to light new material mined from hidden sources. Argument is often a brutal mercenary, intent on plunder and will, as like as not, enlist in the service of the highest bidder. It will as lief sack the citadel of Truth as relieve it when beleaguered. Analogy is a gentle guide, and she takes a man by the hand to lead him into pleasant and promising paths where he may happen upon truth in chance encounter.

E. W. ADAMS

CHURCH UNION IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE LATEST PHASE

Edinburgh, 1937, being the story of the second World Conference on Faith and Order, by Hugh Martin, is a *multum in parvo* volume of special value to all interested in Christian Unity. With the Archbishop of York, who writes the Introduction, we could wish that all Christian people would read this report. It will foster the idea of Christian Unity as a universal project.

Happily the Edinburgh Conference showed up the essential difference between Christian Unity and Church Union. We wonder whether the Conference did very much to equate 'unity in faith' with 'unity in Orders'. Probably it will take a great many decennial conferences to bring this about. At present the profound distinction between the two is so serious that the gathering at Edinburgh seems not to have gone very far towards the goal of organic union of the Churches.

The use of the word *re-union* is deprecated by a vast number who are, however, really interested in Christian Unity. They know no other Church than that in which they were born!

A delegate reported subsequently to the Conference that, perhaps, its biggest achievement lay in this, that it brought the Churches nearer together in sympathy with a desire, at least, for the creation of a Commonwealth of Churches in face of the desperate need of the World for universal moral guidance and power.

In *Edinburgh, 1937*, there is this ominous report—see pages 23-4: 'The following ten years' (between the Lausanne Conference and *Edinburgh*) 'have witnessed in many quarters and in many directions a waning of enthusiasm . . . the mental and spiritual atmosphere is less favourable to the discussion of unity than in 1927. Not only nationalism but even denominationalism has revived.'

That waning of enthusiasm, or the throw-up of evidence that there had not been a sufficient, vital and informed enthusiasm, has been witnessed in South Africa during the last five years.

Thirty years ago an attempt was begun to bring the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches into organic union. The enthusiasm has been intermittent over the years. The Baptists did not find it convenient to join the attempt after closer union. The great Dutch Reformed Church and the Anglican Communion have persistently stood out of any such scheme. Although we well remember the Anglican approach to the Dutch Reformed Church concerning possible closer union, whose mouth-piece was the late Rev. Dr. Wirgman. The approach met with but little sympathy.

Hence many felt that a restricted scheme to be tried out was the organic union of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in the Union of South Africa. A constitution of the projected united Church was drawn up, largely on the model of the United Church of Canada; and even a specific body of Articles of Faith set out to make it a Confessional body. Many objected to the whole scheme and wished for a federal Church of South Africa including all the Communions at work in the land.

In 1935 the scheme was sent down from the higher to the lower courts of the three negotiating Churches and it was found that the supreme courts of the Churches, excepting perhaps the Congregational, were going ahead of the people of the Churches.

In 1936 the clock was set back and, perhaps, to the Methodist Church was allotted the major blame for the throw-back. But there were those in all the contracting Churches who were not really convinced that the time had come for organic union. Irritation came from many quarters and some felt that the Kingdom of God would not be best served—as they saw it—along that line. Others, of course, still declare that it must come and that many of us 'will not see death' until it is accomplished.

The Methodist Conference in 1936 resolved that the Church as a whole was not ready for such a tremendous change, but appointed a committee to collaborate with similar bodies of the other Churches, to

consider the avoidance of overlapping Church work in areas where the white population is small and to explore still farther the prospects of Union.¹

During 1937 the Supreme courts of each Church have dealt with the subject again and the present position is interesting—and suggestive.

The *Methodist Conference* is much where it was in 1936 and re-appointed the Union Committee to continue collaborations.

The *Congregational Union Assembly* felt justified in re-affirming its will to union—which it had done annually for thirty years! They re-appointed the committee, made up of European, Native and Coloured representatives, and instructed it to secure contact with the other Churches, to discover what progress had been made (within its own borders) and what could be done to encourage co-operation.

Their major decision was indicated in a willingness to secure immediate union between itself and the Presbyterians. This would not shut out the possibility of ultimate union with Methodism.

The *Presbyterian Assembly* made it plain that there is a strong minority in the Church against such a threefold union and wished a 'deliverance' issued, to have the matter settled *one way or the other*. The lack of the spirit of enthusiasm was the great stumbling-block. 'Union was desirable, but it must be the logical result of a spirit of unity.' The Assembly re-appointed the committee to continue negotiations and expressed the hope that the Joint Committee may meet at the earliest opportunity.

The Methodist Conference—as already stated—dealt briefly with the question at its Pretoria gathering some four months ago. It did not swerve from its 1936 decision. Although it was then discovered that by 'vote' nearly 80 per cent of the Quarterly Meetings were in favour of the *principle of Union*, there was such a strong difference in the Synods as to how this union should be accomplished and as to even the desired *kind of union*, that Conference resolved to recommend the Methodist people to cultivate the spirit of unity, to establish co-operation between members of the negotiating bodies and to give sufficient time for such education to have its perfect work. The question of overlapping was also to be competently discussed.

The most significant section of the resolutions passed was this:

'That the fullest possible use be made of the Christian Council of South Africa in promoting a spirit of union, that an endeavour be made thereby to realise the ideals set out by Dr. Stanley Jones for a United Church of South Africa.'

This is quoted in full for two reasons.

Dr. Stanley Jones had been holding missions in South Africa and had suggested that all the Christian Churches of South Africa should

¹ By the way, that is surely a lapse on page 38 of Dr. Paul Douglass, *A Decade of Objective Progress in Church Unity*, where he speaks of 'the European population' and 'the problem of the evangelization of the Native and Afrikaner population.' The Dutch-Afrikaner belong to the former class, of course, but if the Coloured section of the population is meant it should be stated.

become one like a great tree with many branches. There should be the *United Church of South Africa*, with its Anglican branch, its Methodist branch, its Presbyterian branch and so on; each with its freedom in domestic control and service, but each forming a vital part of the one great Church.

His suggestion made a profound impression and some thought that it pointed the better way for the Churches to take. It was a vision with a pull in it and many re-acted to the influence of that 'pull'! The vision persists.

During the last three years, and as one of the fruits of the recent visit of Dr. Mott to South Africa, all the Churches, except the Roman Catholic, appointed representatives to constitute a body that became known as the *Christian Council of South Africa*.

The moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church became its President and the President of the Methodist Conference and an Anglican Bishop its vice-Presidents.

It is serving a great purpose in bringing to a focus the judgement and moral service of all the Churches on public, parliamentary and social questions, and it will also exercise a moderating influence on racial problems. It is an instrument of tremendous potentiality for the Kingdom of Christ in South Africa.

There are those who prefer the unity so outlined, which preserves the potent witness of each individual Church intact. It will provide for a variety in unity and secure the fullest advantage of a differentiated *Church Order*, whilst it demonstrates the underlying, centralizing, over-controlling *Christian Faith*, which is the sure deposit in the heart of all the separate Churches.

We venture to suggest that the South African Methodist Conference was wisely guided in adopting the major resolution which is printed above in italics. It indicates, perhaps, the only way along which real Church unity may be attempted; and who shall say but that such a unity of the Christian forces in South Africa may ultimately lead to organic union.

At any rate it appears to be the only effective way to travel in the immediate future.

PS.—In Report No. 4 prepared for the Commission on Church Unity in Life and Worship, by Dr. Paul Douglass, it is stated that should the union of Churches referred to in this article be effected it would unite about 20,000 Congregationalists; more than 100,000 Methodists and some 18,000 Presbyterians.

By reference to the Year Book (1936) of the S.A. Methodist Church it will be seen that in all grades of membership there are no less than 226,038 of which some 180,000 are full members and they are made up of European, African, Coloured and Indian people. The Government Census of ten years ago showed a Methodist following of over 832,000.

ALLEN LEA

A VILLAGE, A CHURCH AND A DAY BOOK

A STUDENT of the history of the English people will find much material well and truly written in the stones of her parish churches, the details of her parish records and the diaries of her parish priests. This is evidenced afresh in a recent book¹ compiled with fine insight by the rector of Horsted Keynes in the Weald of Sussex, Rev. F. Stenton Eardley. This remote wooded village is high set on a southern spur of Ashdown Forest and is far removed from the spate of modern traffic and arterial roads. This district was the Black Country of bygone centuries and is now a place of singular beauty. Here the Saxons, Danes and Jutes mingled and paid rent by service. These sturdy folk served in their militia and worshipped in their daub and wattle church. As time passed the great oaks of Ashdown Forest provided more worthy and lasting material for a permanent church. In the Domesday Book there is a record of 'Horstede' as being in the Rape of Pevensey. The rape was a strip of land running North to South in the county of Sussex by which the Conqueror maintained his communications to the coast. 'Horstede' was the reward given by the Norman Conqueror to one of his loyal knights, Sir William de Cahaigues, and that gift is perpetuated in the title, Horsted Keynes. The assessors of those days taxed the manor at forty shillings. The crusading days and the Wars of the Roses each affected the community and called forth its inhabitants to fight. The Reformation brought the Great Bible in 1538. The Cromwellian days and the Stuart dynasty provided more excitement as loyalties clashed and feelings ran high. By 1663 the iron trade was in full blast. Nowadays the hammer pond echoes to wild fowl rather than iron, and flowers cover the old cinder heaps.

The parish was often called upon to pay assessments made by the ecclesiastical authorities in the form of 'briefs'. These were levies imposed throughout the country to meet the needs of those at home and abroad who had suffered calamity. They were the earliest recorded house to house collections for charity. The parish register records many such appeals. One is of interest to Methodists. The entry is under date March 2nd, 1734-5, and reads: 'Epworth in Com: Lincoln. Loss by fire . . . 2s. 6d.' Evidently the Epworth Rectory rebuilding fund did not greatly appeal to the labourers of the Weald. The Cattle Plague in Middlesex, Surrey and Essex in 1714 met with a larger response, as was natural, for £10.8 was forthcoming. Another entry of interest is the demand for 'Oberammer Church in ye Dutchy of Berg' but the response was 'nil', possibly because the Church of the Passion Play was not Protestant.

In the heart of the Puritan regime when the Lord Protector was in power and the aristocracy were still shocked by the execution of Charles I, a rector was admitted to Horsted Keynes on February 1, 1655. His name was Giles Moore and he was a royalist whose church

¹ *Horsted Keynes, Sussex*, by F. Stenton Eardley. (Macmillan. Vellum 10s. Cloth 3s. 6d.)

loyalties varied as much, and as often, as those of the famous Vicar of Bray. He was a farmer by circumstance, a priest by vocation and had been a chaplain and a soldier by necessity. Giles Moore kept with diligence and accuracy a day book from 1656 till 1679. His record reflects the social life and habits of the folk of his day. Wild and cruel sports abounded and cock fighting and throwing at cocks was indulged by all and sundry on Shrove Tuesday. The Rector was not above supplying the birds for the fray for he records: 'I received of Thomas Morley, for 6 cocks which I sold him at Shrovetide 4/6.' The parson was evidently in charge of the purse of his household for his 'shopping' often finds place in his day book. 'I payd to Mr. Hall for 46 lb of butter, the pot to bee returned £1.2.0, for 4 lb of Suffolk cheese 1/4, for 5 lb of Cheshire cheese 2/6, a couple of rabbits 2/6. To good wyfe Pelling for 4 nayle (32 lbs) at 4d. the lb.' Evidently butter and cheese were dear (since the value of money was much more than now) and rabbits were prohibitive.

The farmers took long credit for their purchases and prices were poor, as witness: 'I received of my brother Brett for a load of hay had by him of mee the year before £1. It was worth at least 5/- more than he payd mee.' The price of cattle was a trouble, then as now, for we read: 'Of Thos. Awcock, butcher, I had in meate and money for that cow which I had of John Pelling, when I had fatted her, £3.8s., which was but 3s. more than I gave for her when leane.' Labour, too, in 1656 was fairly dear, again reckoning the value of money. 'I have agreed with John Blakiston, Mason, that hee, his son and boy are to give mee one dayes work for theyr victuals, and 1/- more which I am to pay them at the evening.' The tithe also created much strife as the following entry reveals in 1676. '18 July Wm Payne came together with Ned Cripps to pay his tythe hee layed downe 20s. on the table, which he told, and I tooke up for the tythe of 1674-75, at which time he sayd I was a knavish priest, and having gone out of the hall and on as far as the yard gate he sayd again that I was a knavish priest, and that hee could prove me to be so.' The taxes of the land have been frequent causes of trouble and deceit and the methods of raising them quaint and varied. In Giles Moore's day it was by the window and chimney taxes, when tenants were assessed on the light that entered their houses and the fireplaces by which they warmed themselves. Two shillings per hearth seems a heavy price to pay when we take into account the value of money. 'I payd Mr. Johnson for ½ a yeares chymney money ending Michaelmas next ensuing, for my 8 hearths 8s. and then also I gave him notice privately in my greater parlour, that hee might desist and not demand any more for that there were 2 more chymneys without hearths, which would bee 2s. more, I promising to take them downe, and to stop them up.'

Beggars abounded and borrowers throve as one would expect. There is something of despair in the entry: 'I lent to my brother Luxford at the widdow Newport, never more to be seene! 1/-.' And again: 'I gave Mr Salisbury, a begging minister, 4d.,' and later: 'I gave to one

who alledged himself to bee the son of Dr. Biron of Brasenose ls.' We seem to have heard stories like those.

Conscription for military service was legal and every man had to go or send. The defence of the realm was work of the militia and here and there in this day book there is the account of one who was sent at the charges of the rector in lieu of personal service. 'I payed to John Ward for one dayes service in bearing my armes 2/- the drummer 6d., powder 4d.'

Throughout the quaint record there are touches of humour. Evidently the ladies of the day were the forbears of the modern folk. 'I gave my wyfe 15s. to lay out at S James Faire at Lindfield, all which shee spent except 2s. 6d. which shee never returned me.' In the words of the present rector of Horsted Keynes: 'Before Giles Moore had finished the book he had thrown, quite incidentally, valuable light on the administration of the law, the state of the Church, the social conditions of the people, the postal arrangements of the country, the prices of commodities and many other characteristics of seventeenth century England.' For the compilation of this book the student of social life in those days will be grateful to Rev. F. Stenton Eardley.

J. HENRY MARTIN

ELGAR, OPERA TRANSLATIONS, AND PIANO-PLAYING

THE latest addition to *The Master Musicians Series* is Mr. W. H. Reed's *Elgar* (Dent, 4s. 6d. net). Mr. Reed has already given us an intimate record of his friendship with Elgar in *Elgar as I Knew Him*. This is a succinct chronological survey of his life and works, with a final chapter devoted to pointing out technical peculiarities and felicities. Mr. Reed has been helped by Elgar's daughter, Mrs. Elgar-Blake, who allowed him access to old diaries and note-books in which Elgar's sisters, Elgar himself and Lady Elgar had briefly noted eventful happenings.

Although Elgar was seventy-six years of age when he died, his life-story has an appearance of being unfinished. After the death of Lady Elgar in 1920 he wrote no works of major importance. Among the works which we have lost, but for which ideas were noted down in primitive sketches, are the symphony commissioned by the B.B.C., *The Last Judgement*, which was to have completed the trilogy of oratorios begun with *The Apostles* and *The Kingdom*, and an opera. This was called *The Spanish Lady* and was based upon Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*. First of all, Elgar had asked Mr. Bernard Shaw to write the libretto for him, but Mr. Shaw gave a characteristic refusal: he said that his plays 'set themselves to a verbal music of their own which would make a queer sort of counterpoint with Elgar's music'. Sir Barry Jackson was then consulted, and he has written to Mr. Reed: 'Diving through the voluminous spate of words and incidents I found at the bottom what seemed to be a splendid story for an opera, which proved that Sir Edward was right from the first.'

Originally the *Pomp and Circumstance* Marches were intended to number six; we were given only five. Mr. Reed also heard him play extracts from a pianoforte concerto designed for Paderewski. Knowing that Elgar was not entirely happy in his treatment of the piano, this is a loss lesser than the loss of the Third Symphony, *The Last Judgement*, and *The Spanish Lady*.

It is astonishing to see how long an idea might lie germinating at the back of Elgar's mind. *The Apostles* is a good example. This was published in 1903, when Elgar was forty-six, yet it is said to owe its origin to a remark by one of Elgar's schoolteachers: 'The Apostles,' he said, 'were poor men at the time of their calling; perhaps before the descent of the Holy Ghost not cleverer than some of you here.' Years later, Elgar told an interviewer: 'This set me thinking, and the oratorio of 1903 is the result.'

Mr. Reed says that Elgar's knowledge of the Bible was profound; but Mrs. Powell, the 'Dorabella' of the 'Enigma' Variations, has described Elgar's methods when he was compiling the 'book' of *The Apostles*: 'He had a Bible open on the table in front of him and there seemed to be a Bible on every chair and even one on the floor. "Goodness!" I said. "What a collection of Bibles! What have you got there besides the Authorized and Revised Versions?" "I don't know; they've been lent to me. I say, d'you know that the Bible is a most wonderfully interesting book?" . . . I think it very astonishing,' Mrs. Powell goes on to say, 'when one looks at the words which are set in *The Apostles* and sees the immense skill with which they have been selected and put together, that the work was mainly done by one who was finding out the beauties of the Bible almost for the first time.'

With regard to the origin of the song, *Like to the damask rose*, also, Mr. Reed is contradictory. On page 45 he says that it was sung by Charles Phillips at the St. James's Hall on February 25, 1897. On page 56 he says that it was sung at a concert at Windsor in honour of Queen Victoria's eightieth birthday, May 24, 1899. 'For this occasion,' Mr. Reed writes, 'Elgar wrote a madrigal to the queen, . . . also a song, *Like to the damask rose*.'

In the last chapter Mr. Reed points out a remarkable foreshadowing in the last of the 'Enigma' Variations (1899) of the opening theme of the First Symphony (1908). Elgar was unaware of and could not account for this 'exact' repetition of the theme subconsciously written ten years previously, the relative note-values, the intervals and the accompanying harmony being identical'.

To Professor Edward J. Dent's translations of opera librettos have now been added versions of *Il Trovatore* and *Rigoletto* (Oxford University Press, 2s. net each). Both have been successfully tried out at Sadler's Wells. Malone describes how he once found Dr. Johnson reading a history of Birmingham because he could lay his hands upon nothing better. Birmingham has grown since then, and nowadays to qualify as a 'confirmed reader' a man ought to be found, I think, reading an opera libretto.

If it were by the 'poet Bunn,' author of *The Bohemian Girl*, he would

find it amusing enough, but in a way that Bunn never intended. Sullivan once asked Gilbert whether he would write a grand opera 'book', but Gilbert replied: 'Anybody—Hersee, Farnie, Reece—can write a good libretto for such a purpose.' But a reading of these two librettos, by Cammarano and Piave respectively, would surely show that it is by no means as easy as all that. *Il Trovatore* has reputedly the most involved plot in all opera, but in reading Professor Dent's translation it seems clear enough. In his preface Professor Dent writes: 'If the reader discovers in these pages any line that he can call poetry, he may be sure that it has been stolen from some more respectable—and, I hope, non-copyright—author.' He does himself an injustice. If he never rises to poetry, he has yet written many happily turned lines. It is not going too far to say that, if the operatic translations of the last century had been as good as Professor Dent's, the cause of opera in English would have been won long ago.

Rigoletto and *Il Trovatore* form with *La Traviata* a most popular trio. Their melodies have been churned out on countless barrel organs, and selections from them are in the repertory of every military and brass band. No wonder musicians grow tired of them, refer to them scornfully, and prefer the operas of Verdi's old age, *Otello* and *Falstaff*. But every time I see a performance of any of them, I see that it thoroughly deserves popular preference, and can understand why Dame Ethel Smyth plumps for this, the vigorous and fiery Verdi; the two last scenes of *Il Trovatore* and the last act of *La Traviata* are indubitably masterpieces.

Everything that Mr. Tobias Matthay writes on piano-playing commands respect. Is he not the teacher of Miss Myra Hess and Miss Harriet Cohen? At the same time, one feels that his latest pamphlet, *Piano Fallacies of To-day* (Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d. net), will be easily understandable only to those who have already mastered his previous works. As he shows, his teaching has been misrepresented and misunderstood; and one wonders whether a good deal of this could be obviated by the setting-up of a committee to inquire into and recommend the use of a uniform terminology. 'Fixation,' 'Relaxation,' 'Tonicity,' seem to me to be ugly words and to mean different things to different people.

Mr. Matthay's final chapter is a protest against too excessive devotion to scales and technical exercises. His phraseology is occasionally a little hasty, I think. He speaks of 'those mid-Victorian ideals of education, which were out at all costs to stifle the natural bent of the healthy child for knowledge, and to make all learning as loathsome as possible, under the notion that this would form good "mind discipline"'. Now, old-fashioned methods of teaching probably had this effect, but that that purpose was consciously and knowingly at the back of teachers' minds seems to me untrue. There is a difference between the purpose aimed at and the result achieved.

STANLEY BAYLISS

Editorial Comments

THE INEVITABLE CONFLICT.

No one likes to hear the phrase 'war is inevitable' in these days of recurring crises. It is absurd to suppose that states must always settle their differences of opinion by recourse to arms. Even the rival ideologies of the moment can be reconciled, so long as one allows a margin of compromise.

The case of Christianity and 'the world' is different. One remembers a certain boyish indignation when one read, for the first time, the story of the persecution of the early Christians by the forces of the Roman Empire. It seemed so unreasonable that men must suffer because they refused a pinch of incense at the shrine of Diana or because they quibbled at a bare title of divinity accorded to an official Emperor. The problem was more complicated than we knew. There was always room in the imperial gallery of gods for a little statue of Christ. He was welcome to stand amongst the rest, if His presence would please a section of the people. That was the policy of imperial Rome, and the Christians seemed to the official Romans an unreasonable set of folk. What *did* they want? Others were satisfied that their religion was 'permitted' and their gods granted a place amongst the company of the deities. The fact was that there could be no such compromise for Christianity. It represented 'a way of life' and it was a way which stood out in sharp contrast to the way of 'the world'. Indeed it was so definite as to be a challenge to battle, and the challenge came from the side of the Christian. It struck at the foundations of the Roman State. This talk of equality between the slave and his master, the refusal to recognize might as right, and above all the constant assertion that the authority of the Christian 'god' was superior to the authority of the State made conflict inevitable. Persecution was not the result of perversity or wanton cruelty; it was the obvious reply of a majority who believed in force to a minority who condemned it. When the situation eased and persecution died down it was largely the result of compromise, and the 'accommodation' which accepted the two conflicting ways of life endured for many a century.

To-day the contrast is again sharpening into challenge. It was inevitable. The State, even at its best, tends to be conservative in its desire to preserve and uphold a government. The Church should be creative, always looking forward to a better way. It should be far in advance of the dreams of politicians, for it is concerned with the dream of God. The 'way of life' which it proclaims is in necessary opposition to all other ways.

Any theory of government which demands the absolute supremacy of the State is bound to clash with true Christianity. The Fascist may say that he is tolerant of the individual's religion, but when that religion proclaims a common way of life and so develops a fellowship

he finds, as his Roman predecessors found, the danger of *imperium in imperio*. This gathering even of 'two or three together' becomes a menace to the supreme authority. The pastors of the Confessional Church in Germany cannot be allowed to tell their flocks that they obey God rather than Caesar!

The only ways of compromise are still the old ways. There may be a State religion, shorn of all beliefs and practices which oppose the State; there may be countless little gods of the individual taking their place in a miscellaneous collection of divine nonentities under the patronage of the State or there may be a complete elimination of all the gods. The idea of God, supreme and dominant in all the affairs of human life, is considered once again as a menace and a challenge to the State, whether it be Fascist or Bolshevik in principle. As Mussolini has written more than once: 'For the Fascist nothing exists or has any value whether material or spiritual, outside the State.' It is obvious that such an assertion precludes the idea of God, though it does not forbid the presence of some conditional deity whose followers are prepared to make their *final* reference to the State. The symbol of the axe surrounded by its tightly bound bundle of licitor's rods cannot be surmounted by the Cross. There is always the danger that the centurion may cry out 'Truly this was the Son of God' and by that very cry reduce the State to relative insignificance.

The blunt fact is that the principles of Christianity demand a standard of life which is distinct, and the true Christian is bound to maintain that there is one supreme and final authority—God—but that God is 'Our Father'. That first principle is opposed to the final supremacy of any human authority and rules out exclusive nationalism as the goal of right government. So long as the Christian insists on such final reference beyond the State conflict is inevitable. That does not postulate war, but it does make persecution a present possibility!

* * * * *

THE 'COLUMBUS OF METHODISM'.

In an article by the Dean of Durham in the *Daily Telegraph* the early days of Christianity in the West Indies are related to the present situation. We are reminded of the words of Columbus as he planted a cross on San Salvador and saw the natives watching him in fear overcome by curiosity: 'They would be better converted to our holy faith by love than by force. . . . By means of devout persons knowing their language they would soon become Christians.' The subsequent massacre of the Indians opened the West Indies to the slave-trader and brought a new population to the islands. It was to this tragic world of imported slaves that certain Christian communities sent their messengers. 'The little which was done for their spiritual welfare,' says Dr. Alington, 'was done by Jesuits, Moravians and Methodists, and of these the last-named body was, or soon became, the most energetic. . . . Thanks largely to "the Columbus of Methodism", Dr. Coke, they had by the end of the century a Methodist community of seven thousand drawn almost entirely from slaves.'

To the modern mind this seems a perfectly reasonable proceeding, but in the eighteenth century it appeared as outrageous to many who were sincere supporters of 'good government'. It encouraged a slave—the property of his owner—to believe that he was a human being with rights and privileges. It was impossible for the Christian to deny any man such rights and Christianity could not accept such ownership without compromising its fundamental principles. The Methodist preachers were brutally assaulted and their little chapels burnt to the ground. As Dr. Alington has reminded us the preachers themselves were 'fined £20 for every slave proved to have attended their ministrations'. Emancipation seemed to proclaim the victory of the Christian principles, yet it was incomplete.

In the West Indies and in the world at large the rights of the individual are challenged again to-day. In the Totalitarian States it is more obvious than elsewhere but neither Democratic Collectivism nor Capitalistic Collectivism has made any attempt to preserve individual interests. For that reason, if for no other, Christianity cannot accept either system as a substitute. It is all very well for a recent writer to maintain that the Fascist is not a slave owned by a dictator, but a member of a community to whose welfare he has voluntarily surrendered his own interests. History does not encourage us to believe that the soul of a community or corporation has any consistent sympathy for the individual. The character of the Christian community is not that of an artificial creation but of a natural development, a family. It is difficult to maintain a real doctrine of brotherhood without some adequate conceptions of the Father. Neither *liberté*, *égalité*, or *fraternité* survived with their link in a pseudo-divine abstraction, curiously misnamed Reason. In many ways history is repeating itself again to-day. These are sincere political theorists, we believe, who imagine that the current ideologies provide a measure of well-being for the individual, but Christianity, with its spiritual relationship based on the Fatherhood of God must strive again to accomplish a new emancipation. Some Columbus must discover the slavery to the slaves, for 'they would be better converted to our holy faith by love than by force'.

* * * * *

THE HUMAN HARNACK.

To the reader, who, a few years ago, thought of Adolf von Harnack as a critical machine the publication, in 1936, of his biography, written by his daughter, Dr. Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, was something of a revelation. It portrayed a very human being, with a kindliness, controlled and directed by a relentless passion for exact truth but kindliness that did not hesitate to sacrifice his own self-interests rather than hurt another's feelings unnecessarily.

The man who commanded the respect of a generation of theological students in Europe and America was a twin born at Dorpat in 1851. He had Livonian, Westphalian and East Prussian blood in his veins.

There is a delightful picture of him setting out from Dorpat at the age of twenty-one to seek his fortune—or was it truth—in Berlin. He drove in the tiny '*britschka*' on the first stage of his journey to Riga. Arrived in Berlin he wandered through the streets and presently decided to write a letter. He entered a great building whose door stood invitingly open. In answer to his enquiry he was directed to a spacious writing-room. As he sat down at the desk and reached for a sheet of note-paper he read its heading. He saw then that he was sitting in the Prussian Parliament House, not in an hotel! It was here he wrote his first letter home and the incident has its value as an indication of the man. Ingenuous but decisive, no contretemps, grotesque or serious, would deflect him from his purpose.

As a theological student in Leipzig one sees him financially embarrassed, teaching in a girls' school or selling the gold medals he had won at Dorpat, to pay his fees.

The man who was feared and condemned as a destructive critic began his first course of lectures in 1874. When he looked back on them, at the mature age of seventy he said: 'From childhood I have been greatly influenced by the story of the Good Shepherd. I thought of this story as I prepared for my first lecture. . . . The picture of the hireling has always been a warning to me.'

There was no commercialism in him. 'As long as anyone has a question to ask my time belongs to him,' he would say when the lecture was extended by the crowd of eager enquirers.

His earliest struggles came because of his views on the Person of Jesus, and his doctrine of the Sacraments in which he equated Word and Sacrament. Though his later work brought much opposition, sometimes bitterly expressed, his real grief lay in the fact that his father disapproved. One catches another glimpse of the close human relationship which meant so much to him. His father had spoken and written in strong terms of Ritschl's views on certain aspects of the Reformation. The relation between Ritschl the teacher and Adolf von Harnack his disciple, was intimate. The attack disturbed them both, but their affection for each other forbade reply. Shortly after Theodosius expressed the warmest approval of his son's lecture on Luther. Unfortunately the publication of the *History of Dogma* roused the older Harnack to angry disapproval. 'The difference between us', he wrote 'is not theological but fundamentally Christian. If I took no notice of it, I should be denying Christ, and no one can expect that of me, not even one as near and dear to me as you are, my son.' It is a poignant chapter in the life of two brave men to whom truth was equally precious. Frau von Harnack tried to comfort both husband and son. 'Your Father's silence is not to be understood as a lack of love or a mere estrangement. Your present views have deeply pained him. You know your father. I am not in a position to judge how far you were obliged to write this book . . . but the strained relations between the two of you give me great sorrow.' The differences of opinion hurt both men deeply, yet neither swerved from what he conceived to be the truth. To them it was the great essential

and they sacrificed all personal feeling in their attempts to discover and interpret it.

One of his favourite phrases, constantly quoted by him, was 'Education is simplicity regained', and there is a sense in which he tried to justify a definition of theology in the same terms. His frankness made it impossible for him to hide uncertainties in cloudy phrases or a welter of words. Perhaps that was why he was so often misunderstood when closer contacts with the man himself would have meant a real appreciation of his attempt to expand truth rather than to diminish it. 'I have no conception of the supernatural,' he said, 'I am still learning how great and all-embracing the divinely-appointed *Natura* is. God, and all that He puts of Himself into our hearts, is absolute; we and our knowledge are relative.'

His hours of working were methodically arranged. Sometimes he began to lecture at 7 a.m. but on other days he was at his desk by 8 o'clock. He began by going through his correspondence, and usually answered about seventy-five letters a week, writing them personally and at some length. After this work had been done he concentrated on his task for the day and soon became absorbed. 'Holding a lighted cigar in his left hand he would fill page after page with small script. From time to time he would stop to read aloud what he had written in order to test the sound of the sentences, and make corrections or additions.'

A lesser man than Harnack might have demanded 'splendid isolation' and lived in a closely-guarded study to which children would have remained strangers. Instead, we find him arranging a special table at which the older children did their homework, in this room where often the younger ones played contentedly on the floor whilst he 'went on with his work, not allowing himself to be disturbed even by piano practice in the next room'. He made himself one with his children and their circles of friends. From him they learned, by easy stages, something of history and literature and a great deal of true religion. 'It is the atmosphere that educates,' he said and with his great human qualities he enriched home life and taught perhaps the most eager audience he ever had.

This unexpected domesticity did not mean that he was remote from current thought. His contacts with thinkers and writers of his day were many, but he was too original and creative to be easily influenced. The Kaiser introduced him to Houston Stewart Chamberlain whose writings became fundamental in the recreating of the 'Nordic legend' in the Nazi philosophy of to-day. They were close friends but of quite opposite opinions on most subjects. Harnack believed that 'learning was international' and worked hard to promote exchange of opinions between scholars of other lands. There was no narrow or exclusive nationalism in his outlook. It was his great desire to increase the will to peace by encouraging international contacts, and his valuation of the methods and results of non-German scholarship was generous and just. At a Peace Demonstration in the Queen's Hall, London, he took as his 'text' the words, 'The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace'.

This speech in 1911, a year of great international tension, impressed those who heard it as deeply as did the man who delivered it.

After the tragedy of the Great War he accepted the inevitability of the situation but as he faced his students in their strange, disillusioned world he laid down the following points to form a basis of action:

1. Without national consciousness there can be no people, without humanity no true greatness.
2. Without authority there can be no organization.
3. Without the recognition of personality, life is unsound and not worth living.
4. Unless class distinctions are abolished, there can be no inner peace.
5. Without capital there can be no culture or civilization.
6. Without power there can be no State.
7. Without unselfishness and fear of God there can be no future.

Believing that the theological faculties played a great part in national life because they were 'custodians of the great historical fact of Jesus Christ and of His influence upon men' he made a strong and successful appeal: 'If the State abolishes the theological faculties in the universities, the latter will be impoverished. German Idealism, which has one of its strongest roots in the Reformation, will be stunted; and the State will no longer be in a position to promote fruitful co-operation between academic and religious education.' This insistence on the importance of the Christian faith to the life of Germany, in its darkest hours after Versailles, is interesting in view of the neo-paganism so constantly advocated by Rosenberg and others to-day. In the bleak days when it seemed that German scholarship had almost ceased to exist, Adolf von Harnack was one of those who struggled to re-establish world contacts. He had lost almost all his possessions and had to begin again at the age of seventy, but nothing could daunt his courage or shake his faith; neither did his outlook narrow amidst the tragic *débâcle*.

In his last years the differences of opinion between his old pupil Barth and himself caused him real sorrow. For Harnack there was an inevitable relationship of human knowledge to the Divine. Civilization and ethics were never merely human, he said, but Barth answered bluntly that the Gospel had as much and as little to do with barbarism as with civilization. An innate mistrust of the arbitrary use of terminology led Harnack to sum up his criticism of dialectical theology in the following passage: 'It is a matter for rejoicing that the theology of to-day is seriously concerned with essentials. But how weak it is as a science, how narrow and sectarian is its horizon, how repressionistic its logical method, and how short-sighted its view of history! Ritschl is not despised to-day, although from my point of view he offers much which the Barthians could accept; but the sons are more hostile to their fathers than to their grandfathers. For the time being, theology's connexion with the *universitas litterarum* and

with civilization, is in danger of being lost ; but on the other hand, this evangelical theology is forging new links with Catholicism and Romanticism. May we hope that it is the chrysalis from which a really evangelical butterfly will one day emerge !'

The World Conference on Faith and Order received his cordial support though he hoped it would accomplish more than has yet been possible. His vision of a new world in which the old idea that war is the father of all things might be finally destroyed buoyed him up so that, though he had refused the position of German Ambassador to America, he accepted the Chairmanship of the German Commission for Academic Co-operation with the League of Nations.

The excellent and authoritative biography written by Frau Agnes von Zahn-Harnack is an admirable corrective to some distorted generalizations on German mentality which are being popularly accepted to-day. It is a matter for regret that an English version prepared by Dr. T. W. Taylor has not been published owing to a combination of circumstances that could not be foreseen. Those, however, who can avail themselves of the original work will discover in Harnack a charming character, scholar, philosopher and critic but best of all a man whose work was moulded by his living experience of the grace of God in our common life.

Let us take one last glimpse of him. A son has been born, and he has rejoiced in the great gift. Within a few months it is obvious that disease is quickly rendering him blind and arresting his mental development. No pagan philosophy is called in to meet the situation. Instead one sees Harnack writing against the child's name in the family Bible : 'What I do thou knowest not now ; but thou shalt understand hereafter.'

When we think of such men, in every nation, sharing our common experiences of joy and sorrow, it is difficult to believe there is a racial antipathy or a psychological antagonism which makes war inevitable.

LESLIE F. CHURCH

Ministers in Council

EDGEHILL REFRESHER COURSE. The seventh annual Refresher Course is announced to be held from August 29 to September 1 at the Edgehill Theological College. Dr. C. Ryder Smith is to lecture in the mornings on 'The Love of My Neighbour' under the four separate sub-headings of: The Hebrew Standpoint; The Law and the Bottom Dog; The Prophets and the Poor; and The Correlative Ideas of Individualism and Universalism. Dr. J. A. Findlay is to deal with 'Jesus, Divine and Human', speaking first of The Paradox of Jesus, and then on successive mornings with Jesus, Son of the Father; Jesus, Son of Man and finally on The Meaning of the Cross.

The opening evening lecture will be on 'Confession and the Sick Soul', by Dr. W. L. Northridge. By request, the Rev. A. M'Crea, M.A., will speak on 'Church Union: its Developments'. Dr. Herbert G. Smith lectures on 'The Methodist Hymn and Tune Book'. Professor J. E. Davey, M.A., D.D., takes as the closing theme 'Christianity and the World Situation'.

* * * * *

N.W. AREA MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION. The Secretary of this Association, the Rev. Harold G. Kelley, writes that a very good series of meetings was held at Blackpool from April 25 to 27 in the Chapel Street Church. The President, the Rev. H. Fox, in his opening address declared he would resist the temptation to anchor in the safe harbour of reminiscence and proceeded to stress the primacy of preaching among the Puritans. The Rev. W. G. Gollins suggested that the Principles of Puritanism were three, namely, The Authority that resulted from a conviction of the Sovereignty of God; Liberty, giving men freedom to obey; Justice in social life with attractive simplicity in conduct. An excellent discussion was led by the Rev. W. Barton. The afternoon essayist, the Rev. J. Maycock, M.A., gave an historical sketch of Puritanism, after which a conversation was opened by the Rev. A. L. Wigley, B.A., B.D. At the Wednesday evening public meeting, the treasurer, Councillor R. Barrow, J.P., presided, when the Rev. A. Allcock and the Rev. H. Wakefield rendered a stirring account of the Legacy of Puritanism both for the Church and the community. On the Thursday morning a good paper by the Rev. W. Shepherd on 'The Puritan Tradition in the Poetry of New England' examined the work of Whittier, Emerson, Longfellow, J. R. Lowell and Walt Whitman, noting that Puritanism transplanted produced no Milton. The Rev. H. H. Hind followed with a carefully prepared critique. A feature of the Association gatherings is the sermon by a member on the first evening, and on this occasion the sermon by the Rev. R. G. Pittam was on 2 Corinthians iii. 17. The arrangements for hospitality were splendidly carried out by the Rev. R. Ferguson, who has a long and intimate connexion with Ministerial Association work. As an item of Methodist history, the secretary states that his host, Mr. J. T. Baker, informed him that his great-grandmother was the sister of Hugh Bourne, a founder of Primitive Methodism. A proposal has been made to the Manchester Districts Associations that in 1940 there might be held a joint session of the two Associations.

* * * * *

LINCOLN DISTRICT QUIET DAY. A year ago the Lincoln and Grimsby District held its first Quiet Day for ministers and laymen. All who were then present so thoroughly benefited by its refreshment and stimulus that a widespread desire was expressed for another such gathering. Accordingly a second Quiet Day Conference was held on Thursday, April 13, in the Queen Street Church, Horncastle. The Conference Report on Membership was the topic of the day. In the morning an opening session was addressed by the Rev. Harold Roberts,

M.A., D.D., of Headingley College, Leeds, whose work in the preparation of that Report is of outstanding value. After this initial address the company separated into groups for discussion of a Questionnaire kindly prepared by Dr. Roberts. Amongst the questions discussed were the following: What do you consider to be the minimum that Christians should know of the Christian Faith? To what extent is the ignorance of Christianity due to the type of non-theological preaching alleged to be prevalent? How can knowledge of Christian doctrine be most effectively imparted to our people? What is the relation of the Church to the Christian Faith? Do you consider that Groups and other manifestations of fellowship are an adequate substitute for the Class Meetings? The findings of the various groups were presented by their leaders in the afternoon when a notable concluding address was given by Dr. Roberts. It was gratefully felt by all present that we had been admirably conducted to the centralities of modern church concern. Warm thanks are due to the district secretary, the Rev. L. H. Wood, and to the local ministers, the Revs. J. E. Matthews and H. T. Rack, B.A., B.D., for the arrangements of the day.

* * * * *

"EVANGELISM: A FREE CHURCH BULLETIN." At the end of 1938 two experimental issues of a Free Church Bulletin on Evangelism were addressed to ministers, to discover whether a sufficient number would like to receive a regular service of a similar character. The response has proved encouraging to the promoters, nearly a thousand having replied in the affirmative, and it has now been decided that the Bulletin shall be published regularly. The current issue has been sent to me. One article is on 'Evangelism and the Ministerial Machine', introduced by this incident. 'Many years ago,' says the writer, 'when I was a very young minister, it was my lot to visit some of the brethren in our town to persuade them to join in a mission to be conducted in a particular area. Some were vague but quite interested, one or two not interested, while one made the excuse that he had too many meetings to attend to and therefore he couldn't come. Being very young, I said to him: "But, sir, surely you can put off one of these meetings and come. This is our real job." "Oh, my boy," he said, "I can see you haven't been long in the ministry. The Machine hasn't got you yet."' The writer feels to-day that ministers are more likely than ever to be caught up in the machinery consequent on ever-growing demands upon them. He believes that whilst the Anglican Church since the Enabling Act of 1920 is making more and more use of the laity in spiritual service, in Nonconformity the contrary is the case, and that more and more the ministers are having to bear the heavy load. He has, however, a heartening word as to remedies and makes detailed suggestions on overcoming and using the machinery in the interests of evangelism. An interesting section of the Bulletin deals with recent experiments amongst which we note the experience of the minister of a country circuit who narrates how he has used the post for winning the families of farmers and farm workers and with

The opening evening lecture will be on 'Confession and the Sick Soul', by Dr. W. L. Northridge. By request, the Rev. A. M'Crea, M.A., will speak on 'Church Union: its Developments'. Dr. Herbert G. Smith lectures on 'The Methodist Hymn and Tune Book'. Professor J. E. Davey, M.A., D.D., takes as the closing theme 'Christianity and the World Situation'.

* * * * *

N.W. AREA MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION. The Secretary of this Association, the Rev. Harold G. Kelley, writes that a very good series of meetings was held at Blackpool from April 25 to 27 in the Chapel Street Church. The President, the Rev. H. Fox, in his opening address declared he would resist the temptation to anchor in the safe harbour of reminiscence and proceeded to stress the primacy of preaching among the Puritans. The Rev. W. G. Gollins suggested that the Principles of Puritanism were three, namely, The Authority that resulted from a conviction of the Sovereignty of God; Liberty, giving men freedom to obey; Justice in social life with attractive simplicity in conduct. An excellent discussion was led by the Rev. W. Barton. The afternoon essayist, the Rev. J. Maycock, M.A., gave an historical sketch of Puritanism, after which a conversation was opened by the Rev. A. L. Wigley, B.A., B.D. At the Wednesday evening public meeting, the treasurer, Councillor R. Barrow, J.P., presided, when the Rev. A. Alcock and the Rev. H. Wakefield rendered a stirring account of the Legacy of Puritanism both for the Church and the community. On the Thursday morning a good paper by the Rev. W. Shepherd on 'The Puritan Tradition in the Poetry of New England' examined the work of Whittier, Emerson, Longfellow, J. R. Lowell and Walt Whitman, noting that Puritanism transplanted produced no Milton. The Rev. H. H. Hind followed with a carefully prepared critique. A feature of the Association gatherings is the sermon by a member on the first evening, and on this occasion the sermon by the Rev. R. G. Pittam was on 2 Corinthians iii. 17. The arrangements for hospitality were splendidly carried out by the Rev. R. Ferguson, who has a long and intimate connexion with Ministerial Association work. As an item of Methodist history, the secretary states that his host, Mr. J. T. Baker, informed him that his great-grandmother was the sister of Hugh Bourne, a founder of Primitive Methodism. A proposal has been made to the Manchester Districts Associations that in 1940 there might be held a joint session of the two Associations.

* * * * *

LINCOLN DISTRICT QUIET DAY. A year ago the Lincoln and Grimsby District held its first Quiet Day for ministers and laymen. All who were then present so thoroughly benefited by its refreshment and stimulus that a widespread desire was expressed for another such gathering. Accordingly a second Quiet Day Conference was held on Thursday, April 13, in the Queen Street Church, Horncastle. The Conference Report on Membership was the topic of the day. In the morning an opening session was addressed by the Rev. Harold Roberts,

M.A., D.D., of Headingley College, Leeds, whose work in the preparation of that Report is of outstanding value. After this initial address the company separated into groups for discussion of a Questionnaire kindly prepared by Dr. Roberts. Amongst the questions discussed were the following: What do you consider to be the minimum that Christians should know of the Christian Faith? To what extent is the ignorance of Christianity due to the type of non-theological preaching alleged to be prevalent? How can knowledge of Christian doctrine be most effectively imparted to our people? What is the relation of the Church to the Christian Faith? Do you consider that Groups and other manifestations of fellowship are an adequate substitute for the Class Meetings? The findings of the various groups were presented by their leaders in the afternoon when a notable concluding address was given by Dr. Roberts. It was gratefully felt by all present that we had been admirably conducted to the centralities of modern church concern. Warm thanks are due to the district secretary, the Rev. L. H. Wood, and to the local ministers, the Revs. J. E. Matthews and H. T. Rack, B.A., B.D., for the arrangements of the day.

* * * * *

"EVANGELISM: A FREE CHURCH BULLETIN." At the end of 1938 two experimental issues of a Free Church Bulletin on Evangelism were addressed to ministers, to discover whether a sufficient number would like to receive a regular service of a similar character. The response has proved encouraging to the promoters, nearly a thousand having replied in the affirmative, and it has now been decided that the Bulletin shall be published regularly. The current issue has been sent to me. One article is on 'Evangelism and the Ministerial Machine', introduced by this incident. 'Many years ago,' says the writer, 'when I was a very young minister, it was my lot to visit some of the brethren in our town to persuade them to join in a mission to be conducted in a particular area. Some were vague but quite interested, one or two not interested, while one made the excuse that he had too many meetings to attend to and therefore he couldn't come. Being very young, I said to him: "But, sir, surely you can put off one of these meetings and come. This is our real job." "Oh, my boy," he said, "I can see you haven't been long in the ministry. The Machine hasn't got you yet."' The writer feels to-day that ministers are more likely than ever to be caught up in the machinery consequent on ever-growing demands upon them. He believes that whilst the Anglican Church since the Enabling Act of 1920 is making more and more use of the laity in spiritual service, in Nonconformity the contrary is the case, and that more and more the ministers are having to bear the heavy load. He has, however, a heartening word as to remedies and makes detailed suggestions on overcoming and using the machinery in the interests of evangelism. An interesting section of the Bulletin deals with recent experiments amongst which we note the experience of the minister of a country circuit who narrates how he has used the post for winning the families of farmers and farm workers and with

what results. Copies of the Bulletin may be obtained from the Secretary, 'Evangelism', 30 Brompton Square, London, S.W.3, at the rate of 1s. 6d. for the next six issues.

* * * * *

A REVISED ANGLICAN CATECHISM. Under the title of 'A Supplementary Instruction: Issued by leave of the Lower House of the Convocation of York and recommended for experimental use' (S.P.C.K. 1d.) there has been published what is virtually a new Catechism of the Church of England. In a Prefatory Note the Archbishop of York heartily commends this eight-page leaflet in the hope that experience may both prove its value and also perhaps suggest improvements. It may then be re-published with or without modification under fuller authority. A comparison with the older form of Catechism is interesting and reveals many felicities in conception and phrasing. The duty towards neighbours, for example, is now delightfully stated in a manner which is an enormous improvement on the older exposition. On the other hand, Baptism is said to be 'the sacrament in which we are cleansed and are born again into the family of God . . . for being by nature prone to sin, we are herein made the children of God by the power of the Holy Spirit'. A new section details Ministries of grace such as Confirmation, Holy Orders and the Ministry of Forgiveness, the latter being defined as 'the Ministry in which Christians who are truly sorry for their sins make free confession of them, with promise of amendment of life, and receive assurance of forgiveness through absolution'.

* * * * *

THE MAKING OF A NEW METHODIST CATECHISM. The Conference held in Hull last July received a report from a Committee which had been appointed to deal with Methodist Notes on Scripture Lessons. In presenting its report on that matter, the Committee urged the need for the preparation of two forms of Catechism, one for juniors and one for seniors, the former only to be taught after the teachers had themselves studied it in the Teachers' Training Class and the latter (which should be used in preparation for church membership) to be regarded by ministers as being primarily their own responsibility. The Conference accepted the recommendation and appointed an influential Committee with the Rev. F. C. Taylor, M.A., B.D., as convener to carry out the design. The result of their labours will be awaited with much interest.

* * * * *

I shall be glad to receive further reports and also comments on any subject suitable for these columns.

W. E. FARNDAL

10 Mainwaring Road
Lincoln

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION

The Rise of Puritanism. By William Haller. (Professor of English in Barnard College, Columbia University.) (Columbia University Press. 1938. In England, Humphrey Milford, Oxford. 22s. 6d.)

This book is an example of the recent and excellent work on the seventeenth century which is the fruit of American scholarship. It is a careful and thorough examination of 'the Way to the New Jerusalem, as set forth in pulpit and press', during the period 1570 to 1643. It has been prompted by studies upon John Milton, which led the author to realize with deepening significance, that it was neither possible to understand the English poet without discerning the relation to Puritanism, nor to understand Puritanism without an enquiry into the teaching of the Puritan pulpit and press. Behind it lies an exhaustive survey of the sermons, expositions, spiritual biography and confessional diaries of the period—a vast literature which is fully documented, with additional biographical notes, at the end of the volume. In his preface Mr. Haller ventures to hope that he has given 'a just and lively impression' of the vitality of Puritanism. He has certainly accomplished this, and even more. He has done it with strict impartiality.

The book presents an ample view of the spiritual brotherhood of Puritan preachers, within the English Church, as a group of men who set out to be 'physicians of the soul'. It affords a valuable estimate of individual representatives within this spiritual company, who steadily created a literature setting forth to an eager populace both doctrine and a way of life, and whom rulers of state eventually could not allow to go unchallenged. Mr. Haller declares that the central doctrine of Puritanism was a deterministic conception 'theologically formulated as predestination', and it sprang from a moral rather than a metaphysical validity. He says the Puritans were Calvinists—yet 'with a difference'. His analysis of this basic idea is singularly clear, and is of even greater value as coming from one who is not a professor of theology! He reminds us that the autobiographies and diaries of the period—'the Puritan saga of the spiritual life'—came from this root, and, for the Puritan mind and conscience, performed the same psychological function as auricular confession. Moreover the Puritan preacher was not aiming at splitting hairs in matters of doctrine—a popular misconception—nor yet constantly describing the tortures of the damned. His purpose was deeply spiritual, in concern for the soul. More important than even the great festivals in

the Christian calendar were those 'holy days' when the soul fasted and became humble before God, seeking the way of salvation and finding it. The Puritan preacher knew, and the congregation heard 'the rhetoric of the Spirit'.

Mr. Haller gives wise cautions on the importance of the sects which developed in this period, and which he rightly regards as something inherent and natural in the individualism which Puritanism fostered. There is a danger in an isolated consideration of these groups, and the right perspective is obtained when the sectarian developments are seen as a whole, and as 'centrifugal tendencies', which, for the most part, within this period, are exaggerated expressions of certain aspects of Puritanism. He points out that the sects 'were far more alike than they were different'.

Mr. Haller's impartiality of treatment is seen in his discussion of Laud and his policy, and in the challenging pamphleteering of John Lilburne, John Bastwick and William Prynne, leading up to the important criticism of episcopacy represented by John Milton, as one 'church-outed' by prelacy. He sees in the poem 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity', Milton's 'first attempt at the Puritan saga'. 'Comus' and 'Lycidas' are authentic expressions of the Puritan spirit on the eve of the revolution, from the pen of one who had 'made beauty come to heel of a more resolute morality', and who was not less a Puritan for being a poet. 'In Milton, the cause of the Puritan preacher had enlisted a great literary genius, one who brought the idealism bred by the poetry and philosophy of Renaissance humanism to the support of Puritan revolutionary zeal in church and state' (p. 323). The 'root-and-branch' policy of the Long Parliament was epitomized in the writings of Milton. 'His tracts are in the first instance the polemics of a man reared for the Puritan pulpit, but he is a reformer caught up by the Utopian vision which the Puritan programme suggested' (p. 344). Milton's contribution was 'to express for later generations the most vital thing in the whole Puritan movement, the belief, namely, in the transcending importance of spiritual values and responsibilities and the sanctity of individual spiritual life' (p. 362).

Mr. Haller closes this study of the Puritan movement with the critical year of the summoning of the Westminster Assembly of Divines—1643—and he promises a further volume on the events which followed. Such further work will be eagerly anticipated by all who read this volume, which in the reading is as fascinating as it is scholarly. That is saying a great deal. It is a book of first-class workmanship, and all serious students of the subject must count it indispensable.

JOHN T. WILKINSON

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION 401

The Recovery of the Ancient Hebrew Language. By D. W. Thomas. An Inaugural Lecture. (Cambridge University Press. 2s. net.)

The inaugural lecture of the Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge is a very striking performance and augurs a new era in Semitics. The Old Testament literature available for this is but a fragment, and of that some is not available. New dialects allied to Hebrew are coming to light by archaeological research, and the growth of philological studies through comparisons in Accadian, Aramaic, Phoenician, Arabic and Ethiopic, all point to a proto-Semitic basis that may do as much to-day as the perception of the basis of the Aryan languages through the discovery of Sanscrit did in the eighteenth century. And all needs a fresh correlation of the multitudinous facts that Ras Shamra, Lachish, Ur, the Hittites, the Horites, the Arameans of Samaria, &c., suggest to those who care for Old Testament studies. A new value is given to the Septuagint and a high one: while the same may be said of the Massoretic text, though its vocalization according to the Tiberian form is declared far from perfect. Ancient Hebrew Grammar and Tiberian Hebrew are distinct. A new Hebrew Lexicon is called for showing the dialectical variations of Hebrew, and the genetic related development of those variations, the forms to be non-Massoretic as well as Massoretic. Bauer and Leander's *Historische Grammatik der Hebraischen Sprache*, issued in 1922, marked a new era, and our Hebrew exegesis based on sound historical grammar and lexicography must conform to it. A new comparative grammar of the Semitic languages is a great desideratum and the article of G. R. Driver in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* shows where to look for it. A chastened scholarly conservatism in Mr. Thomas deprecates 'undisciplined and uncontrolled' emendation, so called, of the Hebrew text. Ten conjectures with no conviction in any do no more than ten noughts to make a one, as Hugo Gressman said. We commend this scholarly, striking, disciplined inaugural to all Hebrew students. D. W. Thomas seems S. R. Driver *redivivus*.

JAMES LEWIS

This Methodism. By Maldwyn Edwards, M.A., Ph.D. (The Epworth Press. 5s. net.)

Dr. Edwards' book consists of eight studies, dealing partly with some aspects of Methodism in the past, such as its relations to reforming and revolutionary movements and its connexion with the evangelical revival in the Established Church; and partly with some modern issues, such as the standpoint of Methodism towards movements for reunion, and its relation to the universal Church. There is also an interesting and timely study of John Wesley's attitude to war. Every one of the eight essays is well worth study, and the book is a real contribution to the ever-growing literature about Methodism.

One of the most valuable parts of the book is the study of the relation between Methodism and the Chartists. This is full of valuable

detail, and really illumines what has been rather a dim region, in some respects. Another interesting study deals with the suggestion made by the historians Lecky and Green that Methodism prevented a revolution in England parallel to the French Revolution. Dr. Maldwyn Edwards believes that the suggestion is baseless. I am sure that he is right. It would be as true as any summary statement of the kind can be to say that it was not Methodism in the eighteenth century, but the wool trade in the fourteenth century that prevented a revolution like that which began in France in 1789. For it was sheep-farming and the export of wool that broke down the feudal system in this country, and it was the survival of feudalism with all its maddening tyrannies that brought about the explosion in France. On the other hand it might well be argued that it was Methodism that prevented serious disturbances in this land such as came about in almost every country in Europe in 1848, for multitudes of people, under Methodist influences, disliked and feared any spirit of hatred and violence, and were therefore disposed to seek reform by more peaceful means.

There are a few slips which should be corrected in any future edition. The omission of the article, and of the capital letters, in a reference to the *Lyrical Ballads* makes nonsense of a sentence relating to the poetry of Coleridge and Wordsworth, and the quotation of a famous line as 'the spacious days of good Queen Bess' is enough to make Tennyson turn in his grave. Beveridge of Everton should be Berridge, and a famous hymn is slightly misquoted on p. 139. These are small things, and Dr. Maldwyn Edwards is to be congratulated on a book worth writing and worth reading.

HENRY BETT

Crisis for Christianity. By William Teeling. (Religious Book Club.)

The value of this book is difficult to assess. In presenting the crisis for Christianity, the Roman Catholic Church is taken as representative of Christian forces and the author, himself a Catholic and in some measure conversant with its ways and affairs, limits himself to the story of the struggles of that Church in North Central Europe where, he believes, the future danger to Christianity lies. Yet the difficulty in assessing the value of the book is not alone in this. While there is much interesting information, there is a good deal of what might be called 'reporting', the value of which cannot properly be gauged. Reports of conversations with unknown persons are sometimes of doubtful value, even though the author may plead justification in not disclosing the names of his informants. Where the author calls upon evidence or presents an historical survey he is in a stronger position, yet here again the expectations aroused by the title of the book go unfulfilled owing to the author's limited field. Neither do we think the book in other ways sufficiently justifies its title. It limits itself largely to 'affairs' and is somewhat piecemeal.

The book, in the main, is the story of events as they have affected or are affecting the Roman Catholic Church, together with a survey

of the anti-Christian forces operating in Germany and Austria. As a statement of the struggles of the Roman Catholic Church against the Nazi regime, it serves a useful purpose alike in its references to pronouncements from the Vatican and in its review of Catholic opinion on present issues. There is no doubt that the Roman Catholic Church is having a very difficult time, as also is the Vatican itself. While this is unquestionably due to the 'new religion' of Germany, it is probably none the less due to the attempt by that Church to make the best of all possible worlds. Nevertheless, as an indication of how the Roman Catholic Church has fared at the hands of the Nazis and of the fortunes of that Church both now and in the immediate future, the book is not without value. The author clearly has a concern for the Christian faith, though that concern appears to be equated with the Church of which he is a member. Indeed, the purpose of the book appears to be to present a rallying call to all Catholics to resist, in spite of the suffering that may be involved, all attempts to weaken the authority of that Church, and to urge Protestants, who are regarded as more or less helpless as a separate group, to assist them. At the same time, the author inclines to the view that, once certain concessions can be granted both by Church and State, National Socialism may, as a system of Government, become acceptable to the Roman Catholic Church. In domestic matters of the Church, it is interesting to find the author sympathizing with claims for reform, in particular, that the German Bishops shall have some measure of autonomy and shall not be governed in policy by the Vatican. A curious book, whose writer has a worthy though limited purpose.

T. W. BEVAN

Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels. By P. Gardner-Smith.
(Cambridge University Press. 5s.)

The importance of this book is not to be judged by its size. Within less than 100 pages Mr. Gardner-Smith has carefully examined the evidence for the belief that John knew the Synoptic Gospels or at least Mark and Luke. His conclusion is that this belief, though held almost universally by scholars, is unwarranted. Undue emphasis has been placed upon the correspondences between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth; and then, the case having been decided, the discrepancies have been explained away. That the Fourth Evangelist knew Mark has generally been accepted because his Gospel gives some of the peculiar phrases of Mark in the stories of the Feeding of the Multitude and the Anointing, and because the general scheme for the Gospel is the same in Mark and in John. That John knew Luke has been deduced from points of contact about Martha and Mary, and from the story of the Resurrection appearances in Jerusalem. In addition a large number of small and comparatively unimportant points of agreement have been found between John and the Synoptic Gospels. Mr. Gardner-Smith examines the Gospel incident by incident, the ministry of the Baptist, the Cleansing of the Temple, Nicodemus,

the Ministry among the Samaritans, the 'patris' of Jesus, the Healing of the Nobleman's son, the Impotent Man in Jerusalem, the Feeding of the Multitude and the Walking on the Sea, the relation of Jesus to His brethren, the ignorance of the Evangelist that He was the son of David, the story of Lazarus, the Triumphal Entry and the whole Passion narrative, comparing it throughout with the supposed parallels in the Synoptic Gospels; and his conclusion is that there is no evidence that the Fourth Evangelist knew the other Gospels, though he was familiar with some of the traditions used by them. Mr. Gardner-Smith quotes Professor C. H. Dodd's judgement that the outline of the apostolic kerugma was fixed before any of our Gospels were written, and he thinks that both Mark and John have both been influenced by it, but not necessarily by one another. While there are some unimportant details, in which John and the Synoptic Gospels agree, Mr. Gardner-Smith shows there are very many in which they differ for no apparent reason, and the simplest explanation is that the Fourth Evangelist did not know the other Gospels. Windisch has claimed that the Fourth Gospel was written not to supplement or interpret the Synoptic Gospels, but to supersede them. His Gospel was to be the Gospel. Mr. Gardner-Smith maintains that John wrote without any reference to the others, for the simple reason that he did not know them. Literary dependence is often very hard to prove or disprove. There are points in the Feeding of the Multitude and in the Anointing which can be readily explained as due to the knowledge by John of Mark and Luke; but this book casts serious doubt on the truth of this explanation, and calls for a reconsideration of the whole question of the supposed relation of John and the Synoptic Gospels, a question to which it is itself a most important contribution. What makes the question of more than academic interest is emphasized in the last chapter in two points. If John is not dependent on the Synoptic Gospels it may be that it is contemporary in date with them, and not the latest of the four. While it represents a theology more advanced than that of the other Gospels, that may be due to the fact that it arose in a Church where the logical development was more rapid than in some others. The second point is that if the Fourth Gospel is an independent authority for the traditions current in the Church, its historical value must be treated with respect.

F. B. CLOGG

St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles. By Wilfred L. Knox, B.D. (Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.)

For erudition, provocativeness, and elaborate documentation this work ranks with the earlier and companion volume by the same author, *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem*. It is emphatically a book for the serious student; the ordinary reader may be in danger of not seeing the wood for the trees. After an argument intended to prove that an *eschatological* conception of Christianity could not make

effective appeal to the world of Paul's time, the author seeks to show that Paul in commending his message to intelligent Gentiles was obliged to accommodate it, so far as was possible, to the current cosmogonic beliefs of the Hellenistic world. Jewish theology, Jewish cult symbolism, and the speculations to which it gave rise are reviewed at the points where, especially in the Judaism of the dispersion, they show parallelism with or assimilation to Hellenistic modes of thought. There is a careful investigation of that particular synthesization of Jewish and non-Jewish ideas found in the doctrine of the Divine Wisdom, for Mr. Knox holds that a leading principle to be applied in the exposition of Paul's theology is to be found in the identification of the historic Jesus with the Divine Wisdom. The central thesis of the book is thus described: 'St. Paul's letters are an attempt to express in terms of the theology of his day an ultimate fact of his experience. His writings, which are the earliest to formulate a system (*sic!*) of Christian theology, can only be understood if they are interpreted in the light of the conventional language of Hellenistic theology in which he expounded them to the Greek-speaking world.' The several epistles are expounded so far as they are thought to provide material in support of this thesis (Ephesians is non-Pauline).

The book as a whole is a valuable, penetrative and detailed account of thought conditions in Paul's world, yet seems to be marked by excessive ingenuity and subtlety in its attempt to determine the extent to which Paul adjusted himself to those conditions. It must be conceded that Paul in the prosecution of his missionary task would make a wise use of the language and thought forms of his day; but it is difficult to believe that Paul in the wholesale manner here suggested adopted Hellenistic conceptions, or conflated Jewish and Hellenistic ideas. The book seems to deal much more with Paulinism than with Paul, the Christian of revolutionary experience. And even so one is left wholly sceptical whether *this* Paulinism really does fit the Paul whose converts do not appear to have been won mainly from the intellectual classes, who himself was little concerned to speak the words of this world's wisdom, but who gloried in a Good News which was characterized by spirit and power—a dynamic unto salvation that made all things new.

JOHN T. BREWIS

The Validity of Christian Belief. By W. B. Selbie, M.A., D.D. (Nicholson & Watson. 5s.)

'The acid of modernity is not nearly so corrosive as some would like it to be, and the attempt to restate the truths and values of the Christian faith in modern terms is both justifiable and necessary. . . . This is the more needful in view of the modern tendency to emphasize the inaccessibility of God.' So in this book Dr. Selbie stresses the unique element in the Christian Gospel, namely, the Divine initiative in revelation and redemption, an initiative which 'is the only hope for a lost and fallen world.'

Historical religion, he says, shows that while there are elements common to all forms of religious expression, their divergences due to environmental conditions point to the relevance of religion to man's normal life and interests. Attempts in non-Christian religions to adapt ancient creeds to modern requirements, and the past adaptability of Christianity to changing conditions illustrate this. The philosophy of religion must include all religious phenomena and, since human need has always found help in religion, it must be interpreted as a philosophy of life. The inference that an objective reality exists corresponding to subjective religious experience and the findings of the intellect and the moral 'ought' is legitimate. 'We conclude therefore that the religious consciousness like all our faculties is trustworthy and opens a door to reality.' Psychology does nothing to invalidate this conclusion and shows the value of religion for the integrating of character.

The Barthian crisis-theology, Dr. Selbie says next, has done good service in emphasizing the Divine initiative. Research brings knowledge, but complete knowledge requires action on God's part. Human capacity to interpret nature qualitatively and find God in it is evidence that we are in touch with reality. Prophetic religion cannot be accounted for without the postulate of revelation to persons. Such revelation reaches its highest point *through* a person, Jesus Christ. But the human equation must not be forgotten. The word has to be received as well as revealed, and the real problem of revelation is to keep open the channels through which it comes. Man's experience of Jesus Christ demands a doctrine of the Incarnation adequate to His greatness. Nicea and Chalcedon are impossible from the modern point of view, and a fresher and truer expression is required based on a truer interpretation of experience. The 'Good News' shows that the initiative is with God, and the end and aim of the Incarnation is a revelation of the heart of the eternal.

In the remaining chapters the central theme of the Divine initiative is worked out in relation to redemption, faith and works, power from on high, and eternal life. Not the least valuable element in Dr. Selbie's book is the constant emphasis on the vital necessity of the human response to the Divine initiative. In fine, the validity of Christian belief can only be assured to those who have ears to hear and hearts to love. Once read, the book will be read again. J.E.U.

Selected Mystical Writings of William Law. By Stephen Hobhouse. (The C. W. Daniel Company. 8s. 6d.)

This volume acknowledges a great spiritual debt. It marks the grasp and discernment of an expert and its preparation must have necessitated long and painstaking research.

The 'Selections', from William Law's later works, are supplemented by excellent 'Notes' and twenty-four 'Studies' in the mystical theology of Law and Boehme. Law had already published *Christian*

Perfection and the *Serious Call* before he came under the influence of Jacob Boehme, the humble shoemaker of Görlitz. He was then on the verge of his fiftieth year, the mystical turning-point of his career. Henceforth he remained an ardent disciple of the quaint German mystic: 'next to the Scriptures my only book is the illuminated Behmen.'

Mr. Hobhouse sharpens interest in Boehme's eccentric genius. He advises the 'unlearned reader' not to be dismayed by apparently unintelligible passages, but to look for those other passages in which Boehme reveals himself as poet, saint, a man of child-like heart and of an intense love for his fellows, who aspired to feel the utmost depths of God's love and to penetrate some way into the purposes of His creation.

The reveries and rhapsodies of Boehme have often been discredited. Wesley paid high tribute to Law's earlier works but censured his mystical writings, when he described the *Spirit of Prayer* (Part I. p. 9.) as the unscriptural dream of Boehme's imagination; and he urged Law 'to renounce, despise, abhor all the high-flown bombast, all the unintelligible jargon of the Mystics, and come back to the plain religion of the Bible'. But in this particular criticism Wesley hardly does himself justice. His was an intensely practical genius and he feared the vagaries of mystics lest they should mislead his people. Yet he read widely in their literature, enriched his Hymn Book with his fine translations of Johann Scheffler and Gerhard Tersteegen and, in 1768, published *Extracts* from William Law's later works.

It is of no mean significance that, despite the 'complexity and originality of his mystical and theological system', Boehme is now widely recognized as one of the chief founders of German idealist philosophy; and that among the elect who have acknowledged the rare quality of his inspiration are Blake, Coleridge, Emerson, Novalis, Schlegel, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Martenson and Alexander Whyte. Sir Isaac Newton is said to have 'ploughed with Jacob Behmen's heifer' and the mystical writings under review suggest Law's tribute to be no hyperbole.

Mr. Hobhouse crystallizes Law's ideas concerning voices and visions: the test of their reality must be their life-enhancing quality. He also claims that even Boehme was not strictly a visionary or ecstatic; that his 'inward hearing' and 'inward seeing' had more kinship to the imagination of the poet than to the ecstatic experiences of a St. Teresa or a St. Francis of Assisi. Law had wonderful insight and a disciplined mind and, in his study of Boehme, he dismissed the more fantastic and appropriated whatever was vital.

Though their influence was much less pronounced, Law was interested in Meister Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroeck and the author of *Theologia Germanica*, mystics of the fourteenth century German School. Occasional references to St. Augustine, Dionysius the Areopagite, Origen and Irenaeus occur in his writings, and he names with admiration St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross, St. Francis de Sales and Thomas à Kempis. Law's tremendous emphasis on the will is recognized as placing him, like Boehme, 'in the line of the great

voluntarist and Platonist tradition, voiced by Augustine and by medieval mystics, as against the more Aristotelian intellectualism of St. Thomas Aquinas and his school'.

Of Protestant mystics, Law thought highly of the obscure Fleming who wrote under the name of 'Hiel' and, among the Quakers, probably Isaac Pennington made the strongest appeal. John Heylin, a Cambridge contemporary, may also have influenced Law's teaching. Pierre Poiret, the Protestant quietist, and Andreas Freher doubtless exercised a more direct influence. Unlike Overton, Mr. Hobhouse thinks there was a 'considerable affinity' between Law and his predecessors, the Cambridge Platonists, Henry More, John Smith, Cudworth, Whichcote and Norris. He also notes that Law accepted generally the central theological and mystical teaching of the Catholic tradition. Law remained a High Churchman. The 'Selections' illustrate Law's best mystical work. Characteristic themes are emphasized: the Indwelling Christ, Regeneration, the wrathless Love of God, and the doctrine of His 'wrath', suggested by Boehme, and Law's views on the two great sacraments of the Church. With but two exceptions extracts are printed from each of Law's works after his contact with Boehme. Specimens of his method in developing his theme demonstrate his logical strength as in 'An Appeal', the 'Spirit of Love', and a complete chapter on the 'Spirit of Prayer'. Seven letters illustrate Law's epistolary art, always charged with spiritual counsel: 'what life is so much to be dreaded as a life of worldly ease and prosperity? The spirit of Prayer is for all times and all occasions; it is a lamp that is to be always burning, a light to be ever shining; everything calls for it, everything is to be done in it and governed by it.' Flashes of thought and more quotation illumine 'Notes' and 'Studies' and elucidate the longer passages: the truly spiritual man is he who sees God in all things, who sees all things in God. Every outward thing has the nature of a sacrament to him. The entire collection reveals a mastery of the English language and justifies the verdict that William Law is 'quite the greatest' of English prose mystics and a spiritual thinker of the first rank.

Law's power to stir the conscience recalls us to ourselves and to God. In his last book, *An Address*, he warns the younger clergy against a misplaced emphasis. He describes Self as the root, the tree, and the branches of all the evils that befall us. In the spirit of pride he sees the maintenance of self-love, self-esteem, and self-seeking. Though a man of ripe culture, he avows that he in whom the law, the prophets, and the Gospel are fulfilled is the only well-educated man and one of the first scholars in the world. He believed pride and humility to be the two master powers, the two kingdoms in strife for the eternal possession of man.

Many people are still shy of William Law and still urge the old reason—that his standard is higher than man can attain. But they forget his reply: we shall do well to aim at the highest degree of perfection if we may thereby at least attain to mediocrity. He confessed that he wrote 'to call all Christians to a God and Christ within

them. All that I have written for near thirty years has been only to show that we have no master but Christ, nor can have any living divine knowledge but from His holy nature born and revealed in us'.

This collection of the pure gold of Law's mystical writings and the 'Notes' and 'Studies' is a book of uncommon excellence. It will deepen faith in the reality of God and of things unseen.

B. AQUILA BARBER

Judaism. By Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.)

There are few things more needed in the field of Jewish and Christian relationships at the present time than a better understanding of the essentials of Judaism on the part of the Christian. Unfortunately, however, while the number of books dealing with 'the Jewish problem' in general terms is almost legion, there are very few which have a direct bearing on the religious life and thought of the Jewish community. The publication by the Epworth Press of Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein's essay on 'Judaism' (Great Religions of the East series. 2s. 6d.) is therefore an event of some importance. Professor Eric Waterhouse, the general editor of the series, is to be warmly congratulated on having secured the services of such a distinguished scholar as Dr. Epstein whose wide knowledge, infused with deep spiritual insight, has enabled him to bring together within the brief compass of 120 pages with outstanding lucidity a summary of the basic principles of Judaism, an outline of its practice, and a bird's-eye view of Jewish history since the year A.D. 70. Starting with the thought of holiness as 'the ground idea of God' he goes on to show that 'at the root of all Jewish ethics lies the conception of personal holiness', and to affirm that 'it is only through a moral and spiritual awakening, and regeneration, a universal "moral rearmament", that mankind can rid itself of all its woes and miseries. . . . Such regeneration demands the recognition of the supreme rule of righteousness and justice which is the kernel of the Messianic ideal. Thus it is that in Messianism alone will the world find its salvation, and the people of Israel redemption and rest'.

The book is a perfect example of what any book published in a series whose avowed purpose is to be neither critical nor apologetic but simply descriptive ought to be. Dr. Epstein is concerned neither to defend Judaism against attack nor to compare it with any other religious system. He has a positive story to tell of a religion which combined with a pronounced nationalism 'a deep-seated universalism that made Judaism a missionary religion'. The Christian reader will find much to challenge him in the description of the way in which that mission was fulfilled 'not by sending out missionaries to proselytise among the heathen, but by a religious life and conduct, aided by an energetic and competent literary activity that gave testimony to their resolute and personal faith in God'.

Such a book as this cannot fail to realise its editor's claim in respect of peoples of other faiths that 'to understand both their unity with

and differences from us must help to closer sympathy and respect' and nowhere is such sympathy and respect more needed to-day than in our attitude to the Jewish people.

WILLIAM W. SIMPSON

Our Gospel . . . or His? By B. C. Plowright, B.A., B.D.
(James Clarke. 3s. 6d.)

Organized Christianity has lost its grip on bewildered mankind in the opinion of Mr. Plowright. Folk are bewildered with themselves, the world and concerning their duty. This chaos has resulted in a wholesale apostasy from the Church but it can be transformed into a great opportunity for world evangelization. The Church must realize that its gospel meets the fear that paralyses as well as the sin that condemns. The tragedy of the Pharisees who thought they saw but were yet blind to their opportunity has a modern counterpart. We must examine our working assumptions to see whether they contain in themselves the saving message of which the world stands in such sore need. The term 'faith', for instance, must eliminate fear as much as cover guilt. If we will but realize the teaching of Jesus as an alternative to the programme of weary nations, and if we offer a fellowship which leaps the barriers of nations and colour in which the emphasis is on the power of prayer and love, mankind will be saved. Our gospel and His must be both curative and preventive in its work. Man waits for a religion which calls for a belief in and surrender to Jesus Christ, which because it is centred in Him will issue in power and adventure to save the individual and the community. Such faith will call for corporate prayer and common repentance. It will be based on the integrity of the Gospel and His followers will be prepared to think and struggle in their belief in the efficacy of Christ's method of redemption. Such a Church will be realist in its judgement and compelling in its challenge. It is by preaching and practising His gospel that the world will be saved. We are indebted to Mr. Plowright for a frank facing of the unpalatable fact of our failure and for an inspiring lead to the work of winning the world for Christ.

Preface to Faith. By Louis A. Reid. (Allen & Unwin. 6s.)

Professor Reid has written a penetrating, challenging book entitled 'Preface to Faith'. Those who have read his previous works will note again his admirable style, candour and sincerity. A notable feature of this book is the clarity with which the author states his views. He occupies a chair of Philosophy at an English university and disclaims any title to being an expert in the articles of religion. He writes with sympathetic insight and his book will have a special appeal to all those who are grappling with the difficulties of their faith and find themselves unable to link up with organized religion. In an admirable and illuminating introduction, Professor Reid states

quite clearly his own position, objects and aims. He believes in the ministry and value of the Church and writes of what seem to him to be the essential and permanent elements of Christianity. 'I am ready to believe and I do believe, true religion to be the most important element in human life.' 'I believe, more than anything else, that what the world needs to-day is true religion.' 'I wish it to be clearly understood now and throughout this book, that I do not write as an expert but simply as an interested enquirer who believes that the study of these things is really important.' The author states that his aims in this book are (a) a positive attempt to state what seem to be a detached and enquiring, but not theologically expert, contemporary mind to be the essential minima of religious and in particular Christian, beliefs, and (b) a challenge to experts to show how such statements can be bettered, deepened and broadened in a manner which is consistent with a sense of historical truth and of intellectual and religious integrity. He submits to a searching analysis such subjects as The Historical Jesus, the Divinity of Christ, the problem of the Atonement, Credulity, Belief and Faith, Christianity and Morals. The final chapter is an admirable study of 'Politics and the Church'. In dealing with these questions Professor Reid says that he has applied three standards, reason, fact and ethical judgement. Those who maintain that 'faith transcends reason' may see here a flaw in the writer's judgement. He believes in the Incarnation and in the Atonement and points out the weakness of a merely humanitarian view of Jesus. He believes that there is a unique quality of divinity in the person of Jesus and that our Lord had a relation to God enjoyed by no one else. It is a pity that space does not allow a full quotation of the author's conception of the Atonement (p. 143). There is little doubt that some readers will receive surprises and that the orthodox will regard some of the views expressed as dangerous. Many will dissent from some of the author's conclusions; e.g., he rejects the Virgin Birth, the bodily Resurrection, the Miraculous (as an 'essential'). We personally cannot accept any doubts as to the sinlessness of Jesus, of which the writer says that we have not sufficient data to come to a conclusion. It may be said, however, that his views on this question bring him very near to the Christian Faith. Let us add that we have thoroughly enjoyed this book. Our ideas have been stimulated and our faith strengthened in the things that abide for ever. Whilst we disagree with some of Professor Reid's conclusions we are the better for coming into contact with so searching, sympathetic and sincere a writer who is definitely Christian in outlook, understanding and aim.

T. B. J.

There is Always God. By Alan Walker. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.)

No man should write a book if he can help it, and if pressure from publishing houses were regarded rather less as being in the nature of Divine constraint to write something, there would be fewer books

on the market that really have nothing new to say. However, I remember that Samuel Chadwick regarded a letter from a publishing house as a call to write, and Alan Walker was under no delusion when he considered that in response to a suggestion from the Epworth Press he must write a book about the state of religion in this country. He would have written even if he had not been asked. He was so full of his subject, had such profound convictions, and was so eager to make his own contribution to the solution of our problems, that a book was inevitable, and he has written it well. Alan Walker is a worthy representative of the best elements of the young life of Australia. Twelve years ago his father, a minister of the New South Wales Conference, received me into the great city of Sydney, and I conducted an evangelistic mission in his church. The son has inherited the father's devotion to God, and his passion for the evangelism of the people. In his student days he was marked out as a young man who would have a great influence in Australian Methodism, and as soon as he had taken his degree at Sydney University, he was separated for special evangelistic work among young people. During the year he was in England he made his home at Rivercourt, so that I was in touch with him day by day as his book was being written. I know the time that he gave to seeking interviews with every man in the religious life of London whom he thought could contribute to his own understanding of our problem, and the records which he kept indicated his industry. There are few great movements in English Methodism that have not passed under his review, and in his book there is very sound appreciation of all that we are trying to do, and very revealing indications of those problems which we have not solved. His chapter on a working church summarizes the chief elements in the programme of the Poplar Mission, 'The Ideal' at Lambeth, Mr. Clifford Rowntree's great work at West Ham, the Men's Own at Sheffield, and the incomparable work at Birmingham Central Hall. The contributions of the outstanding young men in our ministry have been studied and summarized. Leslie Weatherhead, Donald Soper, W. E. Sangster, William Wallace and David Mace will all find their names in this book, together with some appreciation of their work. The chapter on the Oxford Group, under the title 'Theology to Swing Music', is characteristic. There is sincere appreciation of the greatness of the Group movement and such penetrating suggestions as this: 'Much thinking about God has yet to be done by the Group. It has concentrated on setting theology to swing music rather than to theology itself. Its defence is, of course, that it is depending upon the Church for its theology, but many of its members have little Christian tradition, and are not making it possible for the Church to remove the deficiency.'

Alan Walker is an optimist, not with an optimism that is the consequence of lack of appreciation, but an optimism that is based upon wide knowledge of conditions; a profound belief in the inherent good in human nature, and a firm faith in God.

NORMAN G. DUNNING

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

John Wesley. By Francis I. MacConnell. (Epworth Press. 10s. 6d.)

Some of the best recent contributions to Wesley study have come from American Methodism. It is a pity they are not more widely known in this country. No better life of Wesley, from the literary point of view, than that of Dr. C. T. Winchester, written some years ago, is extant and the later works of Drs. Croft Cell and Humphrey Lee are in different ways outstanding. Bishop MacConnell's new book, though it lacks the profound theological erudition of that of Dr. Croft Cell, is an admirable addition to the ever increasing Wesley literature. It may well prove to be a best seller. It is not a biography, but consists of ten vivid essays on leading events in Wesley's life. Some of the titles are 'The Heart Strangely Warmed', 'The Peculiar Talent', 'The Defender of the Faith', 'The Seeker After Perfection', 'Wesley and Women'. Bishop MacConnell, while he warns his readers against thinking of Wesley as any other than an eighteenth-century man, and generally places him in a true perspective, quite naturally gives us a portrait of Wesley in an American frame. Perhaps it would be truer to say that he strives to get rid of mere temporary local and secondary values, and to present the real man with his values for to-day. This he achieves with a great measure of success. Indeed it would be difficult to find a better portrait of the man John Wesley. The characterization is just and discriminating. Wesley loses nothing in a study untainted by hagiology.

The book is full of shrewd observation. One remark of his on the eighteenth century is worth noting. With all its arid rationalism the eighteenth century was a highly emotional period, 'An age of copious and profuse weeping'. It was that century which produced 'Clarissa'. The book is written as one would expect and desire from a modern American's point of view. The practical character of Wesley's mind is his supreme attraction to the author, who speaks of his 'peculiar indefinable good sense: an instinct for the right path'. Dr. MacConnell almost sees in Wesley a pragmatist—a precursor of William James, but not quite. Much may be said for this point of view. Wesley, whether from lack of ability or from definite purpose, was not a speculative thinker. He had little use for airy notions of any sort and would not wander into spheres where he could not take his syllogisms with him. The first chapter is perhaps the best in the book. It contains the sanest and most discerning account of the Wesley family I know. It even suggests that there are limitations to Susannah and excellencies in Samuel, a much needed adjustment of recent exaggerations. This portrait of the man John Wesley, conceived by an able and cultured American, who has a shrewd knowledge of men and women, and a telling and graphic literary style, is of first rate value. On the religious side one is a little more hesitant.

The conversion experience is rather minimized. Psychological analysis of religious experience is undoubtedly useful where it confines itself to mental processes, but an account of the human route by which experience comes may too readily be confused with the experience itself. Something really happened to Wesley on May 24. The flame of love was kindled on the mean altar of his heart—and it was kindled by the love of God. No sufficient dynamic can be found to explain the Evangelical Revival by psychological analysis and analogies. It is true that Wesley subjected his own experiences to intellectual analysis after May 24 and had moments of doubt and depression, but he emerged a different man and a happy one, and found the dynamic for his life work in these experiences and preached always 'assurance' as the gate to a happy, holy and useful life. The view that while doctrines, like assurance, help some people they depress others seems rather to obsess the bishop's mind. The attempt to find a place for the 'once-born' as well as the 'twice-born', because children have a different sort of religion from adults, is overstressed, Wesley undoubtedly thought in later life that he and his brother conceived their doctrine of assurance too narrowly in the early years of the revival, but his emphasis on the doctrine as the privilege of every Christian remained. While he found exception to the view that all Christians might know their sins were forgiven, it must not be supposed that he would ever have approved the notion that the exceptions were to be the rule and the people who experienced assurance the exception! Such a notion is definitely pre-Wesleyan. It is the sort of religion from which the Wesleys tried to deliver the Church.

Child psychology has had a greater influence on American even than on English Methodism. It is quite true, too, that Wesley did not understand children. But education cannot be substituted for regeneration. It would be unfair to suggest that Bishop MacConnell's work says it can, but the emphasis of the difference between a child's and an adult's religion sometimes has that tendency. One could have wished that in addition to his use of John Wesley's prose works more attention had been given to the hymns of John and Charles Wesley, of *John* as well as Charles. The early hymn books are the true literary expressions of the experiences and doctrine of the Evangelical Revival. Their historical value lasts even when they fall into disuse as a medium of public worship. The experiences of these hymns reveal depths of grief and heights of rapture not often to be found in the *Journal*. If the chance saying, perhaps to be taken with a grain of salt, that Wesley never lost a quarter of an hour's sleep is to be used by Dr. MacConnell to show he knew nothing of the spiritual anguish of some of the saints, consideration also should be given to the hymns he sang, the hymns of *John* and Charles Wesley, which picture giddy heights and profound depths of the soul.

The book has many generalizations which when taken, as the Americans say, by and large, are both true and illuminating. They need qualification at times. But no one sees more clearly than Dr. MacConnell what Wesley was at. His generalizations are not disqualified by the

unhistorical notion, so often characteristic of Methodist writers, that Methodism was a new sect. Dr. MacConnell reiterates the truth that Methodism was a Society, not a Church, and rightly claims there is no other way of understanding many of the things Wesley did. This accounts for the general sanity and validity of his judgements.

Of all the chapters of the book I find that entitled 'Towards Independence' the least convincing. Wesley at the end of 1767 made a note in his *Journal*, particularly in reference to justification by faith, that salvation could be gained by people who held unorthodox views. It was desirable, he wrote, to return to the plain word, 'He that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him'. Certain Catholics, Dr. MacConnell tells us, Lord Acton and Dr. Dollinger, regarded that year as the turning point in Wesley's life. This surely was natural enough. When these thoughts of Wesley were formulated in the Conference of 1769 the Calvinists made their great outcry that Wesley had renounced justification by faith and was returning to the Roman doctrine of salvation by works. The famous nineteenth-century Catholics to whom MacConnell refers seem to have agreed with their Calvinist opponents! Wesley is the favourite heretic of Romans to-day. They argue that his views of justification by faith were not those of Luther but of the Council of Trent! Doubtless this erroneous notion is based on the quotation which Dr. MacConnell makes, and the resolution of Conference, 1769.

It is rather an irony, therefore, that Dr. MacConnell should use this very quotation as the basis of his argument that Wesley at that time was in essence repudiating the Institutionalism in which he had been bred. If fear of God and doing righteousness is all that is needed for salvation, what about his Sacramentalism and Churchmanship? All that need be said is that there is no scrap of evidence that Wesley himself ever related the one to the other. He was thinking of doctrine, not of the Church. Whether it is a logical deduction that he ought to have made is another matter. Such a deduction might prove too much, might indeed be pressed into the service of mere moralism! It is rather extraordinary to-day to find a writer who speaks of Wesley's Sacramentalism, communicating twice a week or more as merely the habit of his crude Oxford days. If there is one thing easy to prove in his life it is to show—as indeed has been done by analysis of his diaries—that this sacramental habit continued with little variation to his life's end. Indeed in 1788 he actually said that he had not changed his sentiments on the matter. This was claimed in a note which prefaced a reissue of an early Oxford sermon on Constant Communion.

The argument that he came in 1767 to regard Sacraments as instruments, not ends in themselves, applies just as plainly to 1739 and is clearly expressed in his sermon on The Means of Grace. Sacraments were probably always instruments to Wesley, but along with Scripture and prayer special instruments because they were *divinely* ordained.

Much more evidence is necessary to confirm the view that the words of 1767 had, or could have, any relation to Christian worship or

Sacraments. Wesley was then considering the question of personal individual salvation—not the Church. It is very doubtful if Wesley ever believed individual salvation depended upon the use of a particular means of grace. He does not say so, much as he valued them for the enrichment of individual religion. But he believed that it was the plain duty of Christians to use divinely ordained instruments, such as Church and Sacraments. The salvation of the individual and the function and perpetuation of the Divine Society, the Church, are two different things which should not be confused. But would not the salvation of many individuals be jeopardized if the gates of Hell should prevail against the Church? The Church in itself has an historical and spiritual value which Dr. MacConnell may call instruments if he wishes to do so—but could he not say the same of the Atonement?

There is a very interesting chapter on Christian perfection—the most difficult of all Wesley's doctrines to understand; the treatment of the social aspects of Methodism is excellent. It does justice to Wesley and does not blame him for not doing what did not come in his province, nor for not understanding what no one could understand except in an historical perspective. Wesley's greatest contribution to social reform was his doctrine of regeneration. He gave to men a new sense of their personal dignity. Dr. MacConnell's treatment of the social question could be confirmed and strengthened by reference to Halévy's *History of the England of the Nineteenth Century*.

The treatment of Wesley's love affairs is sane and just, a greatly needed corrective to modern misrepresentation. This is a book which ought to be read.

J. ERNEST RATTENBURY

The Cambridge Ancient History. (Cambridge University Press. 35s.)

With the publication of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume XII, and the Fifth Volume of Plates, prepared by Mr. C. T. Seltman (C.U.P. 15s.), the noble project initiated by Lord Acton and his contemporaries forty years ago comes to its conclusion. "The Imperial Crisis and Recovery" is the apt general title of this volume and the portrait of Constantine on the cover is symbolic of the transition to the Middle Ages, so that what is truly a conclusion yet serves as prelude to the *Cambridge Medieval History* which begins with the foundation of Constantinople. The period here reviewed, A.D. 193–324, is one which will always be associated with the great name of Gibbon; but since his time we have entered a new world of criticism and discovery even if the glory of his style evades us. There is, as the Editors modestly assert, much still to be learnt concerning matters as important as the relations of Church and State, the 'evolution of the Imperial autocracy, the crisis that beset the Empire and threatened its dissolution and the resolute recovery and reconstruction which made it possible for the Middle Age of Europe to inherit much that had been the possession of the Ancient World'. Finality is not possible even in

Cambridge Histories where every contributor is an expert and the editorship is exact and careful; but the chief outlines are more surely than ever depicted.

Three major themes stand out as one reads this history, apart from the detailed surveys of Economic Life, Art and Literature. These are, broadly speaking, the powerful influence of the Army in its relations with the Imperial House; the pressure exerted by peoples beyond the frontiers, invasions of Goths in the East and attacks of Germans in the West; and—the unique feature of the period—the rise of the Church to its triumph with Constantine, whose personality was dominant immediately after the darkness of the Great Persecution, so that his dream was fulfilled 'and a common religious belief became the cement which bound together the folk of East Rome'. This volume is, therefore, of special interest to the student of Church history. Of outstanding value are the chapters on 'Pagan Philosophy and the Christian Church' and 'The Christian Church in the East' which were written by Professor Burkitt. These are, presumably, the last contributions which will appear under his name, and Professor Creed has been responsible for certain additions and corrections since his death. Dr. Hans Lietzmann wrote the chapter on 'The Church in the West' and Professor Baynes, of London, has undertaken the setting of the final clash between Paganism and Christianity in his two chapters, 'The Great Persecution' and 'Constantine'.

Little more can be said in a short review except to express thankfulness for the accuracy, specialized knowledge and fineness of form which have put so much information at our disposal concerning a period which has so many parallels to our own contemporary troubles.

HAROLD S. DARBY

The Story of Italy. By K. D. Vernon. (James Clarke. 8s. 6d.)

This story of Italy extends from the end of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the Italian kingdom, a period of fourteen hundred years. The narrative deals with the cultural and political history of the country and provides an excellent background for the student and the traveller of serious mind. By its means the reader will come to an understanding of, and sympathy with, a great and brilliant people. He will find much of interest in the romantic, personal and human aspects of the history of Italy. The record begins with the invading hordes of barbarians who plundered all they could carry off and destroyed the rest. The grim succession of Visigoths, Vandals, Huns, Ostrogoths, Lombards, Franks and Saracens, Saxons and Normans, and the internal strife between Popes and Emperors until the end of the twelfth century, make sorry reading. The thirteenth century witnessed the dawn of the age of great men. The Papal influence was pervasive and powerful and yet heresy was rampant and the Inquisition busy. The preaching friars were headed by St. Francis but they, too, were engulfed in the struggle between Pope and Empire.

In that strife the Papacy declined. The rise of the guilds of craftsmen added to the trouble, and resulted in the Guelph and Ghibelline factions and the rise of the Tyrants and the Communes. The literary achievements of St. Thomas Aquinas and Dante are characteristic of the century. Political and military decadence, accompanied by moral deterioration, came in the fourteenth century. The rise of Rienzi was as meteoric and effective as that of his modern counterpart Mussolini and marks the new birth of Italy. The climax of Italian history was reached in the peace and prosperity of the fifteenth century as typified by the benign despotism of Lorenzo de Medici, the rediscovery of classical literature and the tremendous output of learning and art which accompanied it. Then came the tragedy, the French invasion, the rule of the Borgia and the day of Machiavelli, relieved only by the work of Savonarola. The Protestant Reformation added to the tragedy by its challenge to the Papacy. Spanish, Austrian and French domination marked the end of political freedom, but there was a steady growth of literature, science and the arts, especially music. The French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon heralded the founding of a kingdom. Italy, one, united and free, became the passion of Rossetti, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and Victor Emmanuel. The whole story of Italy is one of war, high ambition and mean intrigues. To-day Italy is welded by the Fascism of Mussolini into a unity. If history repeats itself it may even in our time be divided into factions again. This book is well written and illustrated and gives in small compass a considered view of the vicissitudes of a great people who by disunity have imperilled so much, and so often, their country's real welfare.

Robert Raikes. By Guy Kendall. (Nicholson & Watson. 3s. 6d.)

The founding of Sunday Schools with all that they imply for youth is for ever associated with the work of Robert Raikes. The author of this book seeks to set Raikes in true perspective and to show his wide sympathies, his many friendships and his place in the growth of popular education. The *Gloucester Journal*, which Raikes edited, was the advocate of religious education for youth and the support of all good causes especially that of prison reform. The eighteenth century was one of deterioration in manners and morals due to the Industrial Revolution, the Liquor Traffic, indifferent clergy and insufficient education. Raikes was a voluble, fashionable and popular man of Danish ancestry, who devoted his time and money to philanthropic reforms which he maintained against all criticism. The condition of adult prisoners was unbelievably vile and the only hope was by the education of the young. Thus Sunday Schools began and Raikes was amongst the first, if not the first, to establish them. He paid the teachers for their work and the lessons were also given during the week. Sunday was the main day for then it was that children were free from the work that engaged their attention all the week. The

teaching was based on common sense and human sympathy and corporal punishment was common. Raikes compiled the *Scholar's Companion* and in his methods we find the seeds of many later 'innovations'. The result of the Sunday schooling was soon evident both in the children's conduct and their cleanliness. Sunday School Anniversaries were conducted and gave delight to all. Opposition to the movement followed and William Pitt contemplated a Bill for the Suppression of Sunday Schools, for the education of the poor was regarded with suspicion as a political move for the fostering of revolution and Sabbath breaking! The schools survived the opposition and became a permanent and beneficent institution in this land and overseas. The closing years of Raikes' life brought royal patronage both in England and Russia. Mr. Kendall's account is clear and valid for the modern teacher and history student as well as the general public. The extensive reference to the Methodist School at Muswell Hill is a compliment to that fine institution and to Methodism in general.

Looking Forward. By Harold Anson. (Religious Book Club. 2s. 6d.)

The Master of the Temple has written an account of his life and work, and reflected on men and movements during his time. His wide service in the Anglican Church (as varied as that of a Methodist minister) has provided him with material for a fascinating if provocative work. Mr. Anson is a broad churchman and his views will be challenged by many both within and without his communion. His obvious sincerity and his innate courage demand our respect even when we differ from judgements. The story he tells is instinct with life and the thirty-eight brief chapters of this book reflect the faults and virtues of society and churchmanship during a long life. The licence he would extend to youth might easily be its undoing and his attitude to alcohol and the less desirable activities of folk to-day is to say the least—broad. His frank criticisms are matched with clear constructive ideas in many cases. He believes in the oneness of true Christianity and is just to nonconformity. His appreciation of the village chapel is merited and true. He writes: 'No Church will ever be the Church of the English people which does not include these valiant communities. No Church can afford to despise these people who, with no rich people and no ancient endowments to support them, maintain their own cause unaided, and are, generally speaking, forward in every public need.' The range of Mr. Anson's work has been exceptionally wide and his personality is as gracious as his ministry. His chapters on the 'Guild of Health' are the record of a great service finely rendered. In age he looks forward to the best that is yet to be and his record of life as he sees it and has lived it is of real interest and worth to those who are battling through. This book is the choice of the Religious Book Club for May and is a marvel of cheapness and quality.

SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

Man or Leviathan? By Edward Mousley. (Allen & Unwin. 15s.)

This is a timely and impressive book. The author, a Cambridge man, is no mere theorist. He fought in the siege of Kut and endured the horrors of the retreat to Bagdad. Since the war Mr. Mousley has made a considerable reputation as a learned and practical exponent of International Law. He has had a wide experience of affairs as a member of the British Delegation to several international conferences at Washington, The Hague, Geneva and elsewhere.

The title of the book gives the clue to its theme—the relationship of man's free spirit to the State and Law. 'Leviathan' is, of course, borrowed from Hobbes' immortal treatise. In that great book Hobbes dealt with the internal and domestic problems of the State. His philosophical reflections were sharpened by the bitter experience of England's Civil War.

In the absence of authority within the State the life of man becomes 'solitary, poor, hasty, brutish and short'. That is to say, human society has been found possible only if there is a supreme power over men which they are compelled to obey. When there is no King in Israel, every man will do that which is right in his own eyes. To avoid the miseries of anarchy, men are compelled to pay the price of subjection. Hobbes, one of the wisest and wittiest of English thinkers, has been misunderstood and maligned. The whole object of his work in ethics and politics (as Professor A. E. Taylor has recently shown in an admirable paper¹) is to establish the reign of law within the State.

Hobbes, however, did not touch the problem of international law and peace. The reign of Law stopped at the nation's frontier. Within any single State all men must confer their power upon one man, or assembly of men, submit their wills to his will and their judgements to his judgement. It is as though every man should say to his fellow: 'I give up my right of governing myself to the Sovereign (King or Parliament) but on condition that you also give up your rights in the same way.' Man is selfish as well as sociable, pugnacious as well as peaceful, liable to break vows, as well as to make them. Therefore all must submit to the unquestionable sovereign power of the State—the great *Leviathan*, or that mortal God to which we owe, under the Immortal God, our peace and defence. Hobbes tried to secure peace within the group; war between the groups was taken for granted.

The modern 'totalitarian' systems of Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler, with their indifference towards the individual and their militant nationalism, have given to *Leviathan* a monstrous scope beyond anything that Hobbes dreamed of. From being a governor and a protector, the State has become a tyrant and a menace.

¹ See *Essays in Honour of Professor H. J. C. Grierson*, 1939.

While Mr. Mousley is by no means blind to the evils of *Leviathan* (totalitarianism) within the State, he recognizes that the crucial problem to-day is international. We are faced by the threat of anarchic nationalism in its most oppressive aspect. For *Leviathan* is now not only amphibian but has sprouted wings. We thus arrive at the author's main thesis (Hobbes' doctrine applied to the international sphere), that as there can be no peace without subjection, so there can be no subjection except by supreme power.

The power of *Leviathan* was formerly invoked to restrain men from killing one another within the nation, but only in order to prepare them for killing men of other nations. The dictators have done one good thing—they have brought mankind at large up against the stark Hobbesian truth that you cannot have justice or peace without law, and that you cannot have law without a supreme power. Until sufficient power is available to constrain human nature to obey, the position is not prepared for the reign of law.

The greatest obstacle to world peace is the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of the individual State. What would be the result (within any given State) if any individual could defy the law of the land every time he considered that some vital issue personal to himself was involved? At present, each nation insists on being its own judge where its 'vital interests' are at stake. The abandonment of this position is the part of the price of peace that, so far, men have refused to pay. The story of the League of Nations' failure is that whenever the 'vital interests' of the supporting powers have been favourably affected, those powers have observed the Covenant; otherwise they have ignored it. The acid test, therefore, is the surrender of the individual right to determine justice for oneself. History in general, and the post-war anarchy in particular, make it quite clear that nothing but awe of superior power will bring men to obey the law. Phrases like 'Collective Security', and 'International Law' are phrases—and nothing else.

The author renders a service in proving that the road to Disarmament is not the road to peace at all. To disarm a highwayman is not to reform him or secure his submission. The contest between warlike nationalism and the reign of law will be decided by power—the triumph of power over violence. The true alternative to war is not peace—but law. If war, then not law; if not law, then war. Man will not begin to grapple effectively with the problem of war, until he concentrates not on peace, but on law.

The nations prepared to obey the rule of law must unite in order to achieve superior power. Such a union will render unnecessary the distortions of nationalist propaganda, for when the supra-national supreme power has arrived, then it will serve no purpose to conceal facts concerning one people of the earth from any other section of people, as the facts of each will be the truth for all. Alliances or arrangements for 'Collective Security' are devices which promise only to deceive. For international law is needed, perhaps, most of all, among allies; and 'collective security' is only too liable to be

exploited as a variation of power-politics. Pacifism, too, is futile. It is a game that cannot be played by one nation alone. The pacifist makes the mistake of assuming that it is on his own terms that he will be considered by the enemy. Whatever might have been the chance of success of the technique of non-resistance in the old days of personal and hand to hand fighting, the case is utterly different now. The mechanization of war has put the pacifist technique quite out of date. Equally, no mere declaration of Neutrality can save a nation from the perils and privations of war. Only if neutrals are superior in power can they hope to constrain belligerents to keep the ring.

If then the modern world is to steer deliberately towards the Rule of Law (the alternative to the Rule of War) the doctrine, hitherto sacrosanct, of the State's illimitable sovereignty must be abandoned. Such an advance will come about not by diplomatic finesse, prudential calculations or juridical contracts, but only by the development of man's spiritual nature. Mr. Mousley does not minimize the price to be paid. In three striking chapters he shows how the present anarchy illuminates afresh for all Christians two crucial sayings of our Lord—'Ye cannot serve God and mammon', and 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'. Here, and not in militant Marxism is the true road to peace. To prefer God to mammon would clearly mean the surrender of certain national interests, hitherto considered 'vital'. Mammonism—materialism, money-worship is the besetting sin of the 'democracies'. Mammon impersonates God, and Caesar (totalitarianism) displaces Him. The false Gods of Mammon and Caesar are expressly condemned by the authority of Christ as by the experience of men. They violate the supreme command of Christ that we should treat others as we would wish to be treated. The alternative to Nazism, Communism and Fascism is Christian international democracy. The overthrow of nationalist, totalitarian and mammonistic *Leviathan* may well involve the prior cleansing and consolidation of Christendom itself.

At the present stage of human evolution, the struggle for control must be a struggle by power towards Law, and the gain must be consolidated in Law as it is won by Law. The pacifist preaches the power of non-violence; the realist reads history as violence itself; what both overlook is the non-violence of power used as the instrument of Law.

At bottom this penetrating and experienced jurist realizes that the problem of peace is ultimately the problem of the nature and end of man's being. If man is not a spiritual being, then no argument matters. Christians are, therefore, once more reminded (if they need reminding) that they hold the keys of the future. Stalin's quiet farewell to Mr. Lansbury, 'Go and convert the Christians', is a challenge to be heeded. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

The fact that Mr. Mousley allows for the appearance of a Christian democratic international order in, at least, two hundred years, does not absolve us from making a determined attempt now. Democracy will not 'arrive' without Christianity.

One may conclude by affirming that a divided, materialistic, conventional Christian Church will not be an inspiring standard-bearer in the paramount crusade of the age.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

Dynamic Christianity and the World To-Day. By S. M. Zwemer. (Inter-Varsity Fellowship. 2s. 6d.)

In this book Dr. Zwemer emphasizes two aspects of the missionary situation, those of the power and the universality of the Gospel, that is, its dynamic and range. In the section on Dynamic Christianity the writer asserts the value of the earliest book of the New Testament (1 Thessalonians) and finds in it the core of the Gospel. This Good News is absolute in its statement and demands. The changeless Christ is presented in an unchanging message, that of Atonement through the Cross. Such a presentation makes an impact of irresistible force in the political, moral and social spheres. The Cross is still a stumbling block in Islam, calling for fearless preaching as the dynamic of salvation. In the second part of this volume the author views the shrinking world of to-day and acclaims the solidarity of the Race above all ethnic classifications. Looking back on what has been accomplished, Dr. Zwemer sees 'the greater works' done by the disciples that our Lord promised, in enlarged activity, greater duration, visible result, diversity of languages and in proportion to their strength. And yet there is so much more to do and to that task we are committed particularly in Asia and Africa. There is a slowing of the pace in the matter of reaching out to the unoccupied lands and the author urges the Christian Church to the hardest task of winning the Mohammedan for Christ. He calls for a ceaseless itinerant evangelism committed to the winning of the world for Christ. Throughout the book there is a passion for souls, finely expressed, carefully fostered and constantly urged.

Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation.

By G. G. Coulton. (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.)

The publication of a cheap edition of this encyclopedic work by Dr. Coulton is a real service to all students of the period covered. This well-made volume supplies 'the background of social history which is necessary to a sympathetic comprehension of our own literature in the Middle Ages'. This survey is set out in fifteen sections and, in each, the more important passages are marked by an asterisk. Medieval life is here pictured and described in the quaint originals from chroniclers of the period. The range of the sections covers the records of the Folk, the Church, the King, the Home, the Town, the Classes, the Food, the Sports, the Travellers, the Women, the Arts and the Superstitions of those days. It is a book which fascinates wherever one chances to open it and is, in itself, a real course of education in the period. To have made it available to the general reader is supremely worth while.

The Minister, His World and His Work. By W. A. Brown, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7s.)

This study of some pressing tasks and problems of present-day Protestantism is set forth in most helpful fashion and seeks to bridge the gap between the world of the working minister and the plans of those who are leaders in the movement for Christian unity in the Church as a whole. Dr. Brown outlines the world in which the minister must do his work. He is a citizen of two countries, the secular and the spiritual, and as man of God and man of the world he has a formidable task. The author goes on to consider what the world has a right to expect of the Church and incidentally the things it has no right to expect, and examines the scientist's substitute for God—nature, and the humanist's substitute—man. The remaining sections of the book deal with the work of the minister as priest, evangelist, teacher, pastor and churchman. Under each heading there is a full consideration of the supreme task of the minister. He must make God real in the life of to-day and proclaim the Good News of Christ's coming and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. He must recover the lost art of teaching the Faith in all its fullness, and must train his folk for Christian living as much as for Church attendance. The minister to-day must envisage the Unity of the Church however far off that consummation may be and work for a Christian brotherhood that will be the crowning of the Kingship of Christ in the hearts of men. What the Church may accomplish depends on the ministers who serve it, and in his concluding pages Dr. Brown outlines the ideal minister. This book demands the attention of all who would serve worthily the great work of the Christian Church.

The Educational Work of the Church. By Nevin C. Harner. (Abingdon Press. 1 dollar 25 cents.)

This book aims to meet the need of expert religious training, not merely for children and youth, but also for adults. Its point of view is that religious culture is progressive: a process rather than a status to be reached at the end of a period. In the true development of personality the author pins his faith in an ever-deepening response to the Christian ideal. To him, Christian education is a reverent attempt to discover the divinely ordained process by which individuals grow toward Christlikeness, and to work with that process. Critical, yet constructive, he surveys the entire field with candour, insight, method. He admits that Christian education is often very slow and very disappointing. But he faces difficulties too often burked by a lack of patience, an ignorance of method and an overwhelming sense of the magnitude of the task. No detail is overlooked and a passionate urge lies behind his advocacy. He suggests 'a program to fit the people', the value of the Graded Church and the Unified Service, and the need of active direct concern for the children if efforts to bridge the gulf between the School and the Church are to succeed. The chapters on 'Putting the School back into the Church', 'Training for Church

Membership' and 'The Minister and His Young People' have great practical value. He is convinced that the minister holds a strategic place in building the insights and methods of Christian education into the life of the Church. The need for specialists in religious education, particularly adult education, is now generally accepted. But the Church needs to be warned against the psychological dabbler. And here lies the value of the author's methods of training and guidance. *The Educational Work of the Church* is a worthy response to the need for specialists.

Jesus and the Educational Method. By Luther A. Weigle.
(Abingdon Press. \$1.)

The Dean of the Divinity School at Yale University has issued the James Sprunt Lectures, 1938, as a searching criticism of the apocalyptic reading of the life of Jesus. The interpretation which Dr. Weigle combats is one which is claimed in support of quietistic otherworldliness on the one hand and revolutionary violence on the other. Both are false to the purpose and plan of Christ. The author claims that Jesus used the method of education rather than that of politics, propaganda or force. Christ knew how to teach, and the Gospels uniformly bear witness to His power in this direction. He neither spent His time in 'unreflective vagabondage' nor in vehement agitation. Nor did He, as Schweitzer argues, accept the late Jewish Messianic expectation in all its externality. He called men to immediate repentance for their misuse and exploitation of religious belief. He exposed the emptiness of the popular Messianic hope and denounced the misuse of the Temple. He taught men concerning the Kingdom with an emphasis on the Kingship of God, the obedience of Man and the goal of History. These teachings were rooted in Hebrew tradition and while eschatological, were free from the fantastic imagery of the apocalyptic literature. Dr. Weigle brings to the term 'Gospel', as a proclamation of the Kingdom, a new significance in that it is not only a revelation of God, but news that He is doing a gracious and mighty thing, not a spectacular or catastrophic one. He preached a freedom, emphasized a fellowship and revealed an objectivity. Such a message was vibrant with new life and interest. The peril of to-day is that we either incline to cultivate religious education without God, or deny it in the name of God. Evangelism and Education belong together and given the right interpretation of each word they are one. The Christian Church is indebted to Dr. Weigle for a singularly convincing book.

GENERAL

Towards Christianity. Kenneth Ingram. (S.C.M. Press. 5s.)

'The world crisis is a conflict between two forms of civilization,' a conflict which is not confined to the political and economic spheres but is reflected also in the theme which, according to chapter four is 'to enquire how religion will express itself in the future, whether the synthesis that will emerge from the struggle will be Christian and what will be the nature of its emphasis'. The dialectic process in history is taken for granted throughout, and there is much to remind the reader of Professor MacMurray's *Clue to History*. The book first states what, in the view of the author, Christianity is and is not, and passes on to a discussion of God and the spiritual life. After a chapter on immortality, the author asks two questions, what has Christianity to offer to the world? and will the traditional Christian forms survive? An autobiographical section at the beginning describes how Mr. Ingram was brought up within the Anglo-Catholic tradition, and became conscious of the dissociation between his religious affiliations and the pressure of political and international events. This may account for the fact that in the contrast drawn in every chapter between organized Christianity and Christianity as Mr. Ingram conceives it, he seems to have little acquaintance with any other than what he calls the authoritarian, supernatural view of Christianity. Had it been otherwise he would scarcely have written, 'What unites churchmen and forms them into a body is not personal relationship and communal living, but subscription to a common creed'. The argument of the book is not always clear cut, and at times its generalizations are contradictory. But it will make its readers think and ask questions. Perhaps one of them will be: 'Has Mr. Ingram in his enthusiastic recoil from the churches, made "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" the first commandment and so displaced the other?'

The Faith We Declare. By Edwin Lewis. (Cokesbury Press. \$2.)

This book consists of the Fondren Lectures given this year at the Southern Methodist University, Dallas. They were delivered on the eve of the Uniting Conference of American Methodism and the author had that in mind when choosing his subject. The organization is now one and the Church and Ministry are here challenged to the declaration of a faith that is one. The Church has always gained her victories by bold proclamation of her faith, attested by humanitarian devotion and sanctity of life. The lectures are concerned first with the Faith itself as directly connecting sinful man with the seeking God. The author proceeds to consider the Faith and its facts in which the Christian Gospel is identified with the Christian ethic which finds its correlation and confirmation in the Man Christ Jesus who is the

Son of God. The preaching of the Old Gospel in a new age is possible and essential because of the abiding standard of Christ. The declaration of the Good News saves human souls and restores them to God. We are brought nigh in the Blood of Christ. The last lecture is a moving appeal to the preacher of to-day to take up his task with renewed vigour and abiding loyalty. This book is practical from first to last and by its affirmations and lucid sincerity challenges the ministry of the Christian Church. It is timely and helpful.

Comparative Religion. By E. O. James. (Methuen. 9s.)

This book is an introductory and historical study of a great subject. It is intended primarily as a text book for students and will afford the general reader an accurate conception of the development of religious thought and practice. The evidence is set forth from as detached a standpoint as possible and the survival value of religious equipment, as the permanent is separated from the temporary, calls for a comparative study of the available evidence. After an introduction Dr. James outlines Religious Origins and the Magic Art. He discusses the Ritual Organization in general, and Myth and Ritual together with the Mystery Religions of Greece in particular. His chapters on Oriental Theism showing the way of salvation and the development of Monotheism are very good. The surveys of Sin and Atonement, of Sacrifice and Sacrament, are of real value to the Christian student. The history of Worship and Prayer and the growth of a belief in Immortality show the common faith in these spiritual forces developing through the centuries. The concluding chapter gives a summary of the findings and arguments of this interesting book. The bibliography is good and the index is carefully prepared. The publishers regret the abnormal number of errors occasioned by a mistake over proofs. Despite these the book is a real contribution to the subject of Comparative Religion and is recommended to students and general readers alike.

Why Not Abandon the Church? By B. L. Manning, M.A.
(Independent Press. 2s. 6d., and 1s. 6d.)

Despite its nebulous title this book asserts, in the jargon of youth, the essential place of the Church in the life of men and the significance of the Congregational Church in particular. The author answers the critics of Congregationalism and indicates the task of the individual. These talks, printed as spoken, have the glow of informal conversation at an Easter school for Youth. What is lacking in dignity is made up in fervour and we can well believe that those who heard the talks will have profited much by them. The author could write a defence of Congregationalism in a more permanent form and it would be of great service.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. XXXVII. No. 3. April, 1939).—This number of the Journal gives as usual a feast of strong thinking which makes fine reading. The articles for the most part deal with the thought and life of to-day in a forthright fashion. Viscount Samuel writes on the Scientist and the Philosopher, and pleads that the degree of separation between the two has been and still is excessive, and the excess does harm; he sets about illustrating this plea by considering what it is that philosophy should accept from science, and then turns to the way philosophy may be helpful to science. Both working closely together each would see more clearly what are their proper tasks. It is thought that there are strong tendencies towards such a co-ordination and that the convergence will continue. When this alliance is perfected and the results become manifest, then the third member of the trinity will come into partnership. Religion will take her place in the great synthesis. Philosophy, Religion and Science: head, heart and hand. Sir R. W. Livingstone on 'This Uneducated Nation', claims that after the religious problem the educational is the most serious problem our civilization has to face. The creation of a real and far-reaching system of Adult Education is the great educational need of the day. Nothing—apart from religion—would do more for political, social, economic and individual life. 'The Adolescent's Way of Life', by H. C. Dent; and Dr. E. L. Allen on 'The Roots of Irreligion in the Modern World'; with 'Newton's God and Ours', by Dr. E. D. Clark, make excellent reading. F. S. Marvin writes of 'Recovery for All', and seems to think we need a new world religion. 'The Meaning of Democracy', by Reginald Lennard; and Canon S. P. T. Prideaux in a churchman's reply to Recent Critics of the Church, provide real food for thought.

W. G. T. B.

The Cornhill Magazine (March).—This issue is a real feast, the best dish of which, so far as we are concerned, is 'Jungle Leaves', a diary of a devoted life among the Gonds. 'Blood Sports and Hypocrisy' is a challenging and provocative article by Major Jarvis. The fiction side is good and effective. The poems are poetry. (April).—This offers a wide range of fact and fiction in a most attractive form. The article on 'Buck Navvies' by H. R. Jukes is an understanding tribute to that essential worker—the navvy. Ida Finlay's estimate of G. M. Hopkins as poet and priest is a fine picture of a young Jesuit priest whose letters and life are worthy of attention. Travel is represented by Hugh Ireland's 'Eyes unto the Hills'. Interest is supplied by Charles Kennett in his account of 'Man Overboard'. Leo Kainradl recounts a true narrative of 1914–1918 with the title, 'Baptism of War'.

Liter
of De
poetr
excell
one o
Scann
Corn
Natu
is th
the
sonal
colum

Th
read
Oxf
fasci
cons
with
seve
by
Bar
with
Wil
Did
the
Mr.
tion
tim
Ex
a t
ver
Ba
a
Ha

pr
on
Si
su
m
be
re
G
m
R
th

Literary taste is satisfied by A. E. Snodgrass's essay on 'The Source of Defoe' and one on 'Ambition' by C. E. Lawrence. New fiction, good poetry and incisive reviews of current affairs and books complete an excellent issue. (May).—This issue is remarkable for two fine stories, one on China, entitled 'Friend', and the other on Italy, 'Ghergilda of Scanno'. The whole is up to the high standard we expect from the *Cornhill*, but these two stories are outstanding. (June).—Phantasy, Nature, Genius and the Quaint provide the roots of which this issue is the summer blossom. The loyalty of the old time servant and the grace of poverty (as exemplified in 'Silver Shoes') make seasonable reading. Lord Gorell comments with uncanny insight in his columns 'By the Way'.

The Journal of Theological Studies (April).—The article is a paper read by Professor Hempel to the Society for Old Testament Study at Oxford last September. The subject is *Prophet and Poet*, and this fascinating essay attempts to trace out parallels between the self-consciousness of the Hebrew prophets and that of the Greek poets, with special reference to Aeschylus. In recent numbers of this *Journal* several valuable articles have been devoted to the questions raised by the *Didache*, such as its date and its relation to the Epistle of Barnabas. Dr. W. Telfer writes the first of a series of articles dealing with 'The *Didache* and the Apostolic Synod of Antioch'. The Rev. Wilfred L. Knox supplies a note on a difficult word which occurs in *Didache* iii. 4. Dr. Montgomery Hitchcock attempts to show that the word used by Paul in Gal. iv. 17 (*ekkleiein*) means 'to hatch out'. Mr. F. Zimmermann contributes a learned article, 'Textual Observations on the Apocalypse of Baruch'. Finally Dr. C. D. Broad continues his article written in the January issue, 'Arguments for the Existence of God'. It is by no means clear that Dr. Broad is himself a theist, and the famous and devout observation made by the old verger at the University Church at Oxford, who had heard many Bampton Lectures, is the only fitting comment. As usual there are a number of excellent reviews, amongst them two by Dr. A. W. Harrison.

The Congregational Quarterly (April).—Two articles illumine the present situation in Germany: Dr. Conrad Hoffmann, Jr., writes on 'The German Refugees', and Mr. W. G. Moore on 'The Religious Situation'. The former discusses the *shouting*, the *silent*, and the *suffering* Germany. Mr. Moore holds that neither religion nor the modern State can compromise: the end of such a struggle can only be either a new State in which religion is a vital partner, or a new religion of the State. He visualizes a tragic struggle. Rev. Gwilym O. Griffith appraises a recent discussion on 'Modernism and Revelation' and Rev. J. P. Southwell deals with 'Reactionary Tendencies in Modern Thought and Practice'. In 'Congregationalism and Creeds' Rev. J. S. Griffith says that personal experience of God in Christ is the basis of membership: this experience of Christ, not creed, com-

mends itself to common sense and to conscience as the basis of fellowship. What appears to him as the tragedy of the creeds is that what in origin was meant to be a rallying-point of unity has become the very symbol of division. He sees the Church of the future as something more than a United Church: it is a *Universal Church*: of which the hope lies in a fellowship which includes *all* Christians, none excluded, save by their own, not the Church's, act. The Principal of Ridley College, Cambridge, states an Anglican evangelical view of 'Ministry and Sacraments'. Dr. Stanley Romaine Hopper contributes an article on 'Goethe in our Time'.

The Expository Times (April, 1939).—This is a strong number. The first article, by Professor Vincent Taylor, is a model of spade work on the greatest of Pauline themes, with Romans iii. 25 as text. It has been suggested that most modern preachers should hang the letter 'L' from the pulpit desk. This article shows a great scholar working his way with patience and humility, in the quiet of the study, to a modern and convincing appeal. From another angle the need of the world is studied by Professor J. M. Graham, of Aberdeen. His subject is 'What is meant by the Social Gospel?' The writer pleads that 'the Social Gospel' is not an alternative to 'The Gospel'; it is part of it, part of the integral claim of God to the sovereignty of life. It is not a Social Gospel we contend for, but an integral Christianity. This preaching has to-day a quite special urgency'. Under the series-title 'After Fifty Years', Dr. Niven deals with Eschatology and the Primitive Church. He traces the development of thought through Wellhausen, Colani, Schweitzer, Johannes Weiss, Manson, Kennedy and others. He notes that, as the early generations of Christians passed, Christian experience became the ground of faith, rather than the Parousia—hope. Eschatology and Apocalyptic were divorced.

(May, 1939).—The Notes of the Month call attention to Canon F. R. Barry's 'Convictions' (Nisbet, 2s. net), and warn us that the issues of to-day are political only on the surface. At heart they are religious. The value we set on Man depends on our attitude to God. Unless this issue is clearly seen, democracy, apart from religion, must perish, for it will have lost the secret of self-government. In the same Notes there is a thought-provoking section on the Sermon on the Mount, which is not a set of rules, but an exposition of principles by which Jesus lived. Its bearing on 'Non-resistance' is of great interest. An important contribution to the subject of the Ministry of Women in the Church comes from the pen of Dr. Maude Royden. In our space the article cannot be summarised; but it ought to be read, especially by those who think that the call to the Ministry obliterates the accident of sex. Three Methodist thinkers adorn this number: Dr. Lofthouse, by a study of 'The Righteousness of Jahweh'; Dr. Hugh Michael, on the Baptist's designation of our Lord as The Lamb of God; and a note on the second (posthumous) volume of Essays, 'The Pastures of His Presence', by A. E. Whitham.

(June, 1939).—A racy and interesting article by the Dean of Exeter on 'The Spiritual Capacity of the Plain Man' is worth the price of this issue. If every Christian man and woman acted on its practical directions, and would get into human contact with their fellows, they would find in them ideals which are 'the raw material of belief in God, in Christ, in the Holy Spirit, in the Church'. Unnoticed by us, the plain man is often not far from the Kingdom. The Reviews of current books, and of Recent Biblical Archaeology are excellent guides in this number; and the history of N.T. Chronology during the last half-century (Nicklin) is of great interest.

AMERICAN

Religion in Life (Spring Number, 1939).—A very good number, containing essays of outstanding interest in Van Dusen's report of the Tambaram Conference, Brunner's 'The Present-Day Task of Theology', and P. A. Bertocci's 'Tennants Critique of Religious Experience'. There are many other excellent articles of which we can only name Edward Shilleto's 'The Colloquy', J. W. Nixon's 'The Liberal Returns to the Church', and R. Birch Hoyle's 'Causerie on Recent Books'.

Harvard Divinity School Bulletin (1938-39). It is the useful custom at some of the better American Universities and Schools of Religion to issue an annual Bulletin containing some of the official addresses given during the year and some book reviews written by those members of the Faculty who are responsible for the several departments of study. This admirable brochure contains three addresses. The first was the Ingersoll Lecture, delivered by Prof. M. I. Rostovtzeff, and entitled 'The Mentality of the Hellenistic World and the After-Life'. The second is the Dudgeon Lecture by Prof. H. W. Schneider, on the subject of 'Natural Religion'. The third is the address given by Prof. A. D. Nock at the opening session of the Divinity School. His subject was 'Scholarship and Religion'. The book reviews which will interest most readers in this country are those by Prof. H. J. Cadbury and Prof. A. D. Nock.

FRENCH

Les Cahiers Bibliques de Foi et Vie. (Numero 5. Troisième Année).—In the first article, of 47 pages, Professor Karl Barth expounds the New Testament teaching on the Relations between Church and State. M. Franz J. Leenhardt discusses the teaching of Jesus on Divorce. There are two studies on passages in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 1-16 and 17-48); and a lexicographical note on Love in the Old Testament; this last is an adaptation of an article by M. Quell which appeared in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, edited by Gerhard Kittel.

ITALIAN

Il Religio, edited by Ernesto Buonaiuti (Maggio).—This free-lance theological review maintains its reputation for learning and liveliness. Most of the articles in this number deal with the history of religions, and they teem with fresh and challenging ideas. In 'Problemi di religione romana' Mario Untersteiner describes the effect of the adoption of the Greek Gods by the Roman religion. The old intimate family gods of the Greek cities developed into the abstract conception of Jove the supreme Ruler which had no life in it. In 'Rinascita romana e Rinascimento' Raffaello Morghen tries to estimate the extent to which the writers of the Renaissance were dependent on medieval thought. He concludes that the influence of medievalism on the Renaissance has been greatly exaggerated. The two epochs were diverse and antagonistic in spirit. For the mystical and eschatological conceptions of St. Paul and St. Augustine the Renaissance substituted conceptions borrowed from the intellectualist philosophy of Greece. In 'Storia ed Etica' Remo Fedi gives instances to show how the ethical point of view of an historian affects his interpretation of events. According to this writer: 'Obsequiousness to fact is the cankerworm of our civilisation. There is nothing more deadly to the ethical progress of humanity than to bow obsequiously before the accomplished fact (cio ch' è compiuto) and seek to justify it just because it is accomplished.' In 'Lettere Spirituali—II.' Giuseppe Renzi examines the arguments for the existence of God, dwelling especially on the distinction between 'immediate' and 'final' cause. In a striking passage he demonstrates that the sincere atheist is really a theist. 'Democrazia e Cristianesimo' is an Italian translation and commentary on parts of a hitherto unpublished MS. by a French humanist which investigates the origins of the democratic principle. Democracy has erred in trying to translate the Christian teaching on equality from the mystical to the political plane. 'For the belief that all men are equal because they are equal in soul we must substitute a faith founded on man's inequality in soul.' Among the reviews there is a critical notice of Professor C. Raven's *War and the Christian*. The reviewer agrees with the writer's opinion that Christianity and war are incompatible but disagrees with his declaration that Christian forces can restrain war. 'The kingdom of God, which is a kingdom of peace, can only be inaugurated by God. The mass of mankind (massa umana) is refractory to the ideal (idealità) of love and gentleness. We definitely range ourselves with those hopeless pessimists who see in history an implacable struggle between the good and bad in which the good has the worst of it.'